

THE
**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

1904



THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

No. 1. Vol. I.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1904.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

EDITORIAL

TO OUR READERS.

Having inaugurated The Socialist Party of Great Britain, we find it indispensable that we should have a journal in which our views may be expressed.

We venture, therefore, to place before you THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, and trust that it will meet with your approval.

In The Socialist Party of Great Britain we are all members of the working class, and cannot hope that our articles will always be finely phrased, but we shall at least endeavour to lay before you on every occasion a sane and sound pronouncement on all matters affecting the welfare of the working class. What we lack in refinement of style we shall make good by the depth of our sincerity and by the truth of our principles.

We shall, for the present, content ourselves with a monthly issue, but we are confident that the various demands upon us, by the quantity of matter at our disposal, and by the growth of our party, will necessitate in the near future, a weekly issue of our paper.

In dealing with all questions affecting the welfare of the working-class our standpoint will be frankly revolutionary. We shall show that the misery, the poverty, and the degradation caused by capitalism grows far more rapidly than does the enacting of palliative legislation for its removal. The adequate alleviation of these ills can be brought about only by a political party having Socialism for its object. So long as the powers of administration are controlled by the capitalist class so long can that class render nugatory any legislation they consider to unduly favour the workers.

We shall be pleased to consider any articles on Socialism and the working-class movement which may be submitted to us, and we also invite criticism on any question that may be dealt with in these columns. We shall give a fair hearing to all sides on any question, and trust that our correspondence columns will be freely used.

In future numbers of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD fresh features will be introduced in order to make our paper the worthy organ of The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and so that members of either the Socialist or of the non-Socialist section of the community, seeking for reliable information on Socialism in all its ramifications, will never fail to find their requirements satisfied in our columns. Any suggestions for the improvement of the paper which may be submitted will receive our serious consideration.

We invite your most merciless criticism of our work, but at the same time we sincerely trust that if THE SOCIALIST STANDARD meets with your approval you will do your utmost by recommending it to your friends to make it worthy of its name and of the Socialist movement.

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM.

The Welcome to Delegates.

[From "Het Volk."]

COMRADES,
The Netherlands Social-Democratic Party gives you a hearty welcome!

The Paris International Congress of 1900 conferred upon the still young Dutch Party the honour of receiving the representatives of the world's Socialist organisations in 1904, and it is to Amsterdam that from all parts of the earth are flocking together the hundreds of men and women entrusted with the will of the millions of toilers, who carry the heavy burden of capitalism throughout the Earth's length and breadth.

The eyes of the entire conscious proletariat are now turned towards Amsterdam, where the proletarian forces are concentrated, bearing the happy message of a new and a better future. The organisation of the class-war is now the principal object. But even through our strife itself the seeds are sown for the task of days to come, the organisation after the victory.

To this twofold task of organising the strenuous battle, we are now fighting with all the strength of our convictions, and of breaking the ground for the future society, which is necessarily germinating in the cesspool of unfettered capitalism, you are concentrating the labour of this coming week.

Proletarian might and courage and self-reliance grow up high out of the wealth of our scientific researches, strengthened day by day by the hard facts of capitalism itself. Proletarian forethought and prudence have to be observed by the masses, whose will and intentions you represent, for many are the difficulties and great is the responsibility when facing the task of choosing the ways and means.

The Dutch Party, too, awaits your debates and your decisions with keen interest. However young we may be in the ranks of the International—within a few weeks we will celebrate the tenth birthday of our party; and then, strengthened by the rules which the Congress will have again laid down for the international life and movement of the proletariat, we will promise each other earnestly and solemnly to carry on the propaganda of our principles with renewed power until the victory is gained. And we shall no less proclaim our unshatterable will to hold high—above all differences of opinion, which with us can and may be but temporary—that unity of action, without which the proletariat can never excel in power its great and still mighty enemy. In the prosperous growth of our party nothing is more natural than difference of opinion concerning the means of action. But all exchange of thoughts about such differences must be governed by the earnest desire to find, on the basis of proletarian science and of proletarian consciousness, the solution which shall warrant unity of action.

That shall be our firm resolve, when by and by we shall look back upon our labours of ten years and shall gather new strength for the times to come.

In the far East capitalism is forcing the workers of two great nations to fight each other in

bloody battles. In the colonies it wages its exterminating wars to gain ever larger fields for its insatiable lust of exploitation. In the industrial countries it lays like a leaden burden upon the working classes. In the agricultural districts it fosters as much as possible the ignorance and the unconsciousness of the toiling masses.

Against this irresponsible power we direct our forces, whose war-cry is—Organisation and Unity!

And the serrying of our ranks is now of greater importance than ever, where the churches are of late openly using their influence solely on behalf of capitalism. Bearers of Christian love and charity, as they call themselves, they throw the ethics of Christianity to the dogs, and freely accept the ethics of capitalism.

This we experience even in our country, and we arm ourselves formidably for this new form of old battle.

Your discussions will strengthen our power. We are happy to see you in our midst, and we give you a hearty welcome!

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

The General Meeting of the Socialist Party of Great Britain will be held at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W., on Sunday, 18th September, 1904, commencing at 9.30 a.m.

The following Preliminary Agenda has been arranged:

- Election of Chairman.
- Appointment of Stewards.
- Election of Standing Orders Committee.
- Report of the Executive Committee.
- Party Organ.
- Rules.
- Report of Delegates to the International Socialist Congress, Amsterdam.
- Party Emblem.
- Premises.
- Election of General Secretary.
- Election of Treasurer.
- Other business.
- On behalf of the Executive Committee,
(Signed) C. LEHANE,
Genl. Secretary.

LITERATURE AGENCY.

Branches and members should purchase their literature through the Party Agent, F. C. Watts, 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, London, W. Write for particulars as to terms, etc.

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

The class meets weekly and is free to all. Full particulars will be sent on application to J. Fitzgerald, 34, Wilmington Square, London, W.

At the council meeting of the Metropolitan Radical Federation held on Saturday, 20th August, Mr. Herbert Burrows was unanimously appointed delegate to the International Peace Congress at Boston, U.S.A., in September. He will, doubtless, prove an able representative of Radical principles.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

All communications for insertion to be addressed to the Editorial Committee, 5, Arvon Road, High-bury, N., and to be authenticated by name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. Though we cannot undertake, owing to our limited space, to publish all we may receive, every thing sent in will receive careful consideration.

Terms of Subscriptions.

Twelve Months	6 s. d.
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Scale of Charges for Advertisements.	
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Special arrangements will be made for Advertisements to be inserted in more than one issue.

Orders for Subscriptions, Copies of the Paper, and Special Advertisements should be sent to C. Le-hane, Sec., the S. P. of G. B., Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.C., who will also receive payment for same.

The Socialist Standard,
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1904.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

The greatest problem awaiting solution in the world to-day is the existence in every commercial country of extreme poverty side by side with extreme wealth. In every land where, in the natural development of society, the capitalist method of producing and distributing wealth has been introduced, this problem presses itself upon us. Not only so but the greater the grip which capitalism has on industry the more intense is the poverty of the many and the more marked are the riches of the few.

In observing the conditions of this problem, the fact is quickly forced under our notice that it is the producer of wealth who is poor, the non-producer who is rich. How comes it that the men and women who till the soil, who dig the mine, who manipulate the machine, who build the factory and the home, and, in a word, who create the whole of the wealth, receive only sufficient to maintain themselves and their families on the border line of bare physical efficiency, while those who do not aid in production—the employing class—obtain more than is enough to supply their every necessity, comfort, and luxury?

To find a solution to this problem is the task to which the Socialist applies himself. He sees clearly that only by studying the economics of wealth-production and distribution can he understand the anomalies of present-day society. He sees, further, that having gained a knowledge of the economic causes of social inequality, he must apply this knowledge through political action—through the building up of a Socialist organisation for the capture of Parliament and the conquest of the powers of government.

To every sober observer of social facts it is patent that the life condition of the workers is one of penury and of misery. The only saleable commodity they possess—their power of working—they are compelled to take to the labour market and sell for a bare subsistence wage. The food they eat, the clothing they wear, the houses in which they live are of the shoddiest kind, and these together with the mockery of an education which their children receive, primarily determine the purchasing price of their labour-power. By organising in their various trades they may force their wage a little above this normal value, but taken on the average they are bound to sell their activity—physical, mental, and moral—for the bare cost of their subsistence.

In return for this wage they create, by the conversion of raw material into manufactured products or by other means, a value far in excess of the value paid them as wages. The difference between these two values is taken by the employing class, and constitutes the source of profit, interest, and rent. These three forms of exploitation are the result of the unpaid labour of the working-class.

So long as this lasts—and it will last as long as the capitalist system of society—it will not be possible for the workers by any Trades Union organisation to more than slightly modify their condition, and their power in this direction is becoming every day more limited by the combinations among employers to defeat the aims of the working-class.

Then, too, the magnitude of industrial operations, ever tending to increase by the inherent tendency under free competition of the large producer to crush out his smaller trade rivals—the joint stock company takes the place of the large individual capitalist, the trust the place of the joint stock company. The worker is thus brought face to face with an ever greater foe.

The Socialist can calmly view this struggle, knowing that ultimately the victory is with him. In the meantime, however, he has to show the workers that while their organisation in trades will prove an invaluable aid in the transformation of society by facilitating industrial reorganisation, yet at present they can best help to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of wage-slavery by recognising that in their class struggle with their exploiters they can be most certain of success in the political sphere of action.

Such political action will, however, be quite futile unless carried on by a class-conscious party with definite aims. Such a party must recognise that in the class-war they are waging there must be no truce. They must adopt as their basis of action the Socialist position, for in no other way can their ills be redressed.

To neither of the two historic parties can we look with any hope. The Liberal Party, like the Conservative Party, is interested in maintaining the present class society, and cannot, therefore, be expected to help in its transformation from capitalism to Socialism.

The National Democratic League and the Labour Representation Committee are also to be avoided. The former has a programme of purely political measures, each of which is found in the constitutions of France and the United States of America without the working-class being in any way benefited. The latter organisation has no programme whatsoever, and its members possess no principles in common save the name "Labour." As soon as any question of constructive legislation is brought before it its component elements will break apart, being unable to agree among themselves. Unity is only possible among those who possess common principles. Unity can not, therefore, be secured for any length of time by the members of the Labour Representation Committee, but even if it could, the body is not based upon Socialist principles and should not receive the adhesion of working men.

We, as Socialists, venture to assert that the party which is ultimately to secure the support of the rank and file of the working-class must be a Socialist party. Such a party must be ever prepared to further the realisation of a Socialist Society. It must proclaim the fact that this realisation can be achieved by the members of the working-class using their political power to return to Parliament and other public bodies only those who are members of The Socialist Party.

In the past two bodies of men have put forward the claim to be Socialist parties, viz., the

Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation. We who have for many years taken a share in the work of the latter organisation, and who have watched the progress of the former from its initiation, have been forced to the conclusion that through neither of them can the Social Revolution at which we aim be achieved, and that from neither of them can the working-class secure redress from the ills they suffer.

The Independent Labour party, founded for the ostensible reason of forming a half-way house to Socialism, was fated to meet with the reward of every party founded upon a compromise. With a membership of those who were sympathetic with Socialism, but who were not Socialists, they were bound to drift nearer and nearer to the Liberal Party. Having neither the courage to proclaim themselves Socialists nor to disavow Socialism, they are to-day coquetting with that working-class wing of the Liberal Party—the Labour Representation Committee. When the question of Socialism was raised on the committee, their chief representative declared that was neither the time nor the place for such discussion. With a party of this kind, which, in the words of their president, "is independent to support, independent to oppose" the two historic political parties, the working-class should have nothing to do.

The Social Democratic Federation, formed to further the cause of Socialism in Great Britain, has, during the last few years, been steadily following the compromising policy adopted from the first by the Independent Labour Party. So much is this the case that to-day, for all purposes of effective Socialist propaganda they have ceased to exist, and are surely developing into a mere reform party, seeking to obtain the provision of Free Maintenance for school children.

Those Socialists who, within its ranks, sought to withstand this policy, have found the task to be an impossible one, and have consequently seceded and formed themselves into the Socialist Party of Great Britain—a party determined to use its every effort in the furtherance of Socialist ideas and Socialist principles.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is convinced that by laying down a clearly defined body of principles in accord with essential economic truths, and by consistently advocating them, swerving neither to the right nor to the left, but marching uncompromisingly on toward their goal, they will ultimately gain the confidence and the support of the working-class of this country. Once this is secured it is a small step to the organisation of a Socialist Parliamentary party. When this is accomplished all is gained.

The first duty of The Socialist Party is the teaching of its principles and the organisation of a political party on a Socialist basis. The party becoming strong will capture parliamentary and other governmental powers. When these powers—legislative, administrative, and judicial, are wrested from their present class holders, the way is clear for the building up of the industries of the country upon the principle of collective production and collective distribution, and for the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

Men and women of the working-class, it is to you that we appeal! To-day we are a small party, strong only in the truth of our principles, the sincerity of our motives, and the determination and enthusiasm of our members. To-morrow we shall be strong in our numbers, for the economic development of capitalist society fights for us, and as, through the merging of free competition in monopoly and the simplification of industry, the personal capitalist gives place to the impersonal trust as your employer, you will be forced to see that the welfare of the people can best be guaranteed by the holding of all material wealth in common.

We ask you, therefore, to study the principles upon which our party is based, to find out for yourselves what Socialism is and how Socialism and Socialism alone can abolish class society and establish in its stead a society based upon social equality. When you have done this we know that you will come with us, and, by enrolling yourself a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain, help to speed the time when we shall herald in for ourselves and for our children, a brighter, a happier, and a nobler society than any the world has yet witnessed.

PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.

It is a necessary deduction from the principles held by Socialists of the Marxist school of thought that the physique and the mental capacity of the working-class in every capitalist country are deteriorating. If the Socialist view of social development is, as we believe, a correct one, this deterioration is due to temporary economic causes which are remediable by combined human effort.

To the Socialist the question is fundamentally economic, and is to be answered only by an examination into our modes of satisfying material human needs. One of the first things discovered on making such an examination is that the methods of producing and distributing the various means of living are different to-day from what they were yesterday, and that there is reason to assume that they will be yet again different to-morrow. The capitalist method of production by the wage-labourer under the control of the machine for the purpose of furnishing profit for the employer came into existence only in the last third of the eighteenth century.

The immediate result of the introduction of machine industry was the displacement of labourers. The old handicraftsmen were unable to compete with the new machine industry, and were consequently forced out of employment. At first the machine by cheapening commodities and extending the demand for them was able to absorb nearly as many men as it displaced. That day has, however, gone by. Machines are themselves produced by machinery and the markets for manufactured products are practically continuous with the world's surface. Hence, each improved machine introduced, every conquest over Nature made by the inventive genius of man, throws more of the workers out of employment, and renders more irregular the employment of those in employment.

Again, the machine necessitates the co-operation of many men in the carrying on of any manufacture. This combination of effort allows the specialisation of the various detail operations intervening between the raw material and the finished product, and distributes these operations in such a manner that each worker employed in the industry is bound throughout the whole of his life to the monotony of a single routine occupation. The harder work is also differentiated from the easier, and women and children become a feature in the industrial life of the capitalist era.

Another cause for the displacement of men's labour besides the introduction of improved machinery and of women and child labour, is the speeding up of the machine whereby each individual worker is required to tend a larger number of spindles or looms or to work the same machine at an increased speed. Thus labour is generally intensified and tends to rack the nervous system of the worker.

In return for this expenditure of his activity the worker is paid a wage which is fixed on the labour market and is determined by the cost of his subsistence as measured by the standard of comfort of the workers in his trade. This standard of comfort is kept down to the limits of bare physical efficiency by the existence of the unemployed industrial reserve population created, as we have seen, by the extension of the sphere of the machine in industry. The men out of work are prepared to accept a lower wage than that given to those in employment and thus palliate their own miserable condition. This competition for employment presents itself as an unceasing tendency towards lower wages. The final result of this competition between the workers is, that the wage of their labour power fluctuates on either side of the line of "bare physical efficiency."

Looking at industry again, but this time from another point of view, we find that in the distribution of the commodities produced there is free competition between the various manufacturers in the markets of the world. Each manufacturer seeks to secure for himself as large a share of those markets as possible. Hence in periods of commercial prosperity he produces as rapidly as he can, and places his goods for sale. His rivals in trade do likewise. A glut of the

markets follows upon this anarchic method of distribution. The manufacturer, finding the market suffering from glut and finding it necessary to transform his commodities into money, to be able to discharge his liabilities, endeavours to find a customer at reduced prices. His goods are usually purchased by one of his trade rivals who is possessed of more capital and longer staying power, and who thus augments his business. Thus we see as a result of free competition that large capitalists are crushing out small capitalists, and as this progresses monopoly ultimately results.

In America we see monopoly reaching its final and most logical form in the trust. When the trust is formed, it immediately discharges its commercial travellers, because, having a monopoly of the industry, the trust is the only available source of supply to the retail trader; the small factories and the factories equipped with inefficient machinery are closed and the workers in them discharged; the price of the products as well as the wages of those employed, are within the entire control of the all-conquering trust.

We have not as yet, however, reached the stage of the trust in every industry, and have, therefore, to consider the effect of the individual-capitalistic and the joint stock company industrial conditions upon the health of those employed.

We have seen the worker divorced from his tools by the introduction of machinery; the introduction of women labour and child labour; the building up of the machine industry manifested to us in the modern factory; the throwing men out of employment: let us see what is the effect upon the condition of the working-class of the present industrial system.

We see that in England the development of modern industry was at first in advance of its development on the Continent. From a number of well understood causes into which we need not now enquire, England obtained for a period the monopoly of the markets of the world. The produce of her manufactures were sent to every country, and had to be exchanged against the raw produce of those countries. At the same time, the agricultural workers of this country thought that it would be to their advantage to engage in the new industries that were everywhere springing up. They, therefore, began to flock into the towns, and thus commenced that rural immigration towards the great cities which has not yet ceased.

As detail operations in trades were specialised within the factories, so were the various industries of the country specialised and localised within the nation—Lancashire becoming the principal seat of the cotton, Yorkshire of the woollen industry. Round these specialised industries great cities sprung. Built upon no settled plan, the individual greed of the possessor of building land rather than the health and needs of the community being the determining factor, problems were created which remain still without solution.

Crowded together in insanitary areas, the air befouled by the smoke from the many factory chimneys, disease and vice and crime were germinated to an unprecedented extent.

We find that the general condition of the life of the wage-worker is one of extreme poverty and misery. Receiving a low wage, he can maintain only a low standard of comfort—maintaining a low standard of comfort—maintaining with his fellows provides him with a low wage. Thus runs the vicious circle.

His food is of the cheapest description, usually adulterated; his clothing is shoddy; he lives in overcrowded and insanitary areas; the air of the factory in which he works is befouled; the atmosphere of the rooms in which he lives is vitiated; his wife in many trades has to find employment and the family wage is little higher than when he was the sole breadwinner; his children are neglected and go breakfastless to school; the mother of the family is often employed to the time of child-birth; alcoholism is engendered by unhealthy surroundings: these are but a few of the conditions of working-class life directly due to the class ownership of the means of livelihood. These being the facts it is to be wondered at if we assume that their result must be a lowering of the stamina and the physique of the working-class section of the community?

I do not think that any will gainsay that nutrition is the first essential to the building up of a healthy physique. Without the provision of a sufficient supply of good, wholesome food any attempt at arresting deterioration will be futile. We are told that over 100,000 school children in London alone go breakfastless to school. For them there is little hope for a sturdy manhood. Arrest the progress of physical deterioration amongst the children through the provision of meals by the State to all school children and you will do much to strengthen the physique and stamina of the race.

I have before me the Report issued by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, and I have looked through its pages to see whether my *a priori* views on physical deterioration are borne out by the investigations of the Committee.

It is to be observed that it was not from any desire on the part of the governing class to improve the lot of the working-class because they were physically deteriorating that this Committee was appointed, but because of the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of recruits for the army. The government of every country is founded upon force and depends upon the organised force of the army for the maintenance of its stability, and any falling off in the efficiency of the worker viewed as raw material for the army is, therefore, a matter which they deplore. When, therefore, they find that in spite of repeated reductions in the physical standard for recruits there is maintained a percentage of rejections ranging from 40 to 60; when the worker presenting himself for enlistment is designated as "rubbish" by General Borrett, the late Inspector-General of Recruiting; when of those accepted nearly two-thirds have to be subsequently weeded out; then the governing class considers it high time to make enquiries into the physical condition of the people.

I do not propose to quarrel with the Committee because of this, neither am I in any way sanguine that the recommendations of the Committee so far as they would tend to benefit the workers, will be carried into practical effect. Even if Parliament carries through legislative reform, there is no reason to believe that the class that has control of the administrative machinery will let it be other than a dead letter. Indeed, in this very Report instance after instance is given where the very people against whom the Acts are ostensibly directed are to be found administering them on the judicial bench. Let one instance suffice. The evidence given before the Committee by a Miss Garnett is to the effect that—

"The local authority in the Potteries was as inefficient as you could find anywhere. Most of the bad houses are owned by members of the local bodies and the sanitary inspectors are too much in awe of their employers to carry out their duty."

The general finding of the Committee is that there is not sufficient data from which to determine whether there is going on continuous physical deterioration among any section of the community. It may be mentioned in this connection that in the discussion on the subject by the Anthropological Section of the British Association, the existence of such deterioration was taken for granted by many of those who discussed the subject. It was not, of course, to be expected that the Committee would search too deeply into the economic conditions of production to find whether there they might discover a sufficient cause in the very basis of present day capitalist production itself for the deterioration. Their enquiry only scratched the surface of the subject.

I may have occasion, in a future number of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, to return to this matter. By then Vol. II of the Committee's proceedings, containing the detailed evidence, and Vol. III, containing several important appendices, will probably be available. Meanwhile I content myself with selecting a few pertinent passages and trust that all Socialists will read through the Report, which contains, in spite of all its limitations, much valuable propagandist material. Dr. Neston, of Newcastle, says:

"There is undoubtedly great deterioration in the physique of our City population, and that is attributable to two chief causes; first, a decadence in home life, which entails

improper food and clothing, irregular habits (drinking and gambling), absence of order and thrift, second, the miserable housing and high rents which prevail, overcrowding with its consequences, is an important factor in physical and mental deterioration.

Dr. Eickholt, who draws a distinction between physical degeneracy on the one hand and inherited retrogressive deterioration on the other, says:

"There is every reason to anticipate rapid amelioration of physique so soon as improvement occurs in external conditions, particularly as regards food, clothing, overcrowding, cleanliness, drunkenness, and the spread of common, practical knowledge of home management. In fact, all evidence points to active, rapid improvement, bodily and mental, in the worst districts, so soon as they are exposed to better circumstances, even the weaker children recovering at a later age from the evil effects of infant life."

The Committee says:

"There is reason to fear that the urbanization of the population cannot have been untended by consequences prejudicial to the health of the people, and these have been considered under the three heads of: (I) Overcrowding, (II) Pollution of the atmosphere, and (III) The conditions of employment."

"The general death-rate in these tenements (one room) in Glasgow is nearly twice that of the whole city, and the death-rate from pulmonary tuberculosis is 2.4 per thousand in one-roomed tenements, 1.8 in two-roomed tenements, and .7 in all the other houses. In Finsbury, again, where the population of one-roomed tenements is 14,516, the death-rate per thousand in 1903 was 38.4, yet the rate among occupants of four or more rooms was only 5.6; and for the whole borough 19.6."

"I should trace much of the anemia (in Manchester to the deprivation of sunlight and to the lessening of the vivifying properties of the air."

"Factory labour is mentioned as a predisposing cause" (to alcoholism among women of the working-class).

Describing the life of a boy of fourteen in a textile district, who has probably been bred in unwholesome environment and nourished on unnatural food, Mr. Wilson, H.M. Inspector of Factories, said:

"The hours will be long, fifty-five per week, and the atmosphere he breathes very confined, perchance also dusty. Employment of this character, especially if carried on in high temperatures, rarely fosters growth or development; the stunted child elongates slightly in time, but remains very thin, loses colour, the muscles remain small, especially those of the upper limbs, the legs are inclined to become bowed, more particularly if heavy weights have to be habitually carried, the arch of the foot flattens, and the teeth decay rapidly."

He continues:

"The girls exhibit the same shortness of stature, the same miserable development, and they possess the same sallow cheeks and carious teeth. I have also observed that at age when girls brought up under wholesome conditions usually possess a luxuriant growth of hair, these factory girls have a scanty crop which, when tied back, is simply a wisp or rat's tail."

I think, then, that the Socialist is justified in his belief that there exists sufficient evidence to verify his conclusion obtained by deduction from Socialist principles. Man is a creature of his environment, susceptible to its every change. In present day society the multiplicity of wealth which he creates keeps him in poverty, and the conditions of poverty are conditions of an inferior standard of comfort. An inferior standard of comfort engenders an inferior physique. Improve the standard of life of the people and you remove every tendency to deterioration. Such an improved standard of living is prevented only by the maintenance of a class-owned method of wealth production and can be secured by the working-class using its voting power to the end that all the things necessary to the welfare of the people shall be owned and democratically controlled by the people in their own interest.

Under a society in which individual private property is replaced by social property, when each unit of society shall aid in the production of social necessities, there will be laid the physical conditions which shall ensure a healthy subsistence under healthy conditions for each man, woman, and child in the community, and by guaranteeing to each a healthy physical organism, will present those conditions most necessary for the mental and moral development of the race.—ROBERT ELSTON.

CAPITALIST MORALITY AND CHEAP LABOUR.

It has been sometimes alleged by ignorant or interested persons that Socialism would promote immorality, and particularly that it would "break up the family." Certain admissions made by the learned upholders of Capitalism at the recent meeting of the Economic Section of the British Association throw a really brilliant light upon the canting hypocrisy of these contentions. The fact is Capitalism promotes and forces what is termed "immorality" upon large sections of the people, and breaks up the family, even destroying the most natural and common human affections.

Mrs. Bosanquet (author of "The Strength of the People") has had the impudence more than once to attack, without comprehending Socialist science. In the course of a paper read by her at this meeting, she asserted that:

"The disintegration of family life in town resulted in an alarming increase of unstable families, who quickly lost due sense of home affections and responsibilities, and did not earn so much where families were stable."

So here is a plain admission from a defender of capitalistic robbery of the workers, that CAPITALISM destroys the family. How anxious this goody-goody capitalist is to preserve the family! And notice what good capitalist reason she has for it! The sting of this quotation is, scorpion-like, in the tail; stable families earn less than unstable disintegrated families. So the capitalist professes anxiety to preserve the family—in the hope of cheaper labour!

Another speaker asserted that "where family life is preserved, morality is very high." And he continued:

"Our infant mortality is now greater than in India and Japan, and the employment of married women in factories is an appreciable cause."

What a condemnation of the infamous capitalist system. The employment of married women in factories certainly tends to break up the family, and this capitalist advocate admits that it is responsible for the wholesale slaughter of innocent infants. But the labour of married women is cheap, and men, women, and children alike must be sacrificed in order that Capital—"that monster without a heart"—may be satisfied. Only by the Social Revolution can this system be ended. Palliation is impossible and absurd. Leave it to capitalists to cant about morality, which they neither understand nor care for, and to tinker with the effects of their villainous system. It is for the working-class to organise for its complete overthrow.

H. J. HAWKINS.

A PROUD DISTINCTION.

"Adulteration is a legitimate form of competition."—JOHN BRIGHT.

The proud distinction of having beaten all previous records in the fine art of butter adulteration probably belongs to a Burnley grocer, who succeeded in selling as butter a composition in which there was only 1 per cent of the genuine products of milk. All the rest was "foreign fat." There were previous convictions, and he has had to pay heavily for his final proficiency. A contemporary referring to the case cannot help asking "Why the 1 per cent?" Is it chemistry or is it conscience which demands it?—"The Co-operative News."

Do your share to hasten the Socialist Commonwealth by getting fresh readers for the "Socialist Standard."

PARTY NOTES.

That there is a good field for a sound Socialist party in this country is evident. The Socialist Party has been in existence barely three months, but the effect of the propaganda has already made itself felt.

Thirteen branches have been formed, and over twenty open-air meetings are held each Sunday, besides several others during the week.

Not alone have we secured a footing in the Metropolis, but enquiries have come in from various other parts of the country. Many of those who sought information have since joined the ranks.

The lack of an organ to give expression to our views has seriously hampered our work of teaching Socialism as the only way out of wage-slavery. But now that THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has been unfurled our task will be considerably facilitated.

The importance of the Party press as an instrument of propaganda cannot be overestimated, and comrades will see to it that THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is put into the hands of the working-class.

At each propaganda meeting the Chairman should direct the attention of the audience to our organ—a paper written, published, and paid for by the working-class—and the comrade selling the paper should ask those who purchase copies to become subscribers. Then sample copies could be left at the houses in a given street in a suitable neighbourhood, and a call made say a week afterwards to ascertain results.

Comrades should not fear disappointment: Socialists are to be found in most unexpected quarters. By this method a good circulation can be kept up, and many new members secured to the Party.

Branches should see that a copy of our paper is supplied to each public library in their districts, and thus bring the organ and the Party under the notice of persons who may otherwise remain ignorant of the existence of either.

Arrangements are being made for the formation of Branches in Clerkenwell, Tottenham, and Ilford. Will members in these districts, and readers desirous of joining, communicate with me?

I shall also be glad to hear from readers in Coventry, Isle of Wight, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Oxford, Liverpool, Manchester, Rochester, and Treheris regarding the establishment of branches in their respective localities.

Comrades, the watch-word is "Onward."

C. LEHANE.

"As a preliminary to any further legislation on the subject of hours of employment, particularly employment of women and children, it is, in the view of the Committee, (on Physical Deterioration), highly desirable that there should be a strictly scientific enquiry into the physiological causation and effects of over-fatigue." Meanwhile, the women and children are crushed down by over-work!

"Poor in physique as they all are, and poor in mental capacity and power of application as many of them must be, what becomes of them? Many of them probably marry girls as weak as themselves, and have children, some of whom go to swell the lists of infant mortality, some to join the criminal classes, while others grow up more weak and incompetent than their parents."—Sir Lauder Brunton, on certain sections of the working-class.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted, from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

FROM OUR BRANCHES.

EAST LONDON.

Our branch is yet in its infancy and has an enormous amount of preliminary work to do with only a small number of members to do it. The area of our propagandist field is very great and so is the spade work necessary to cultivate that field. But as our members are Socialists not merely in name but in reality, whatever we want in membership, we gain in enthusiasm. We are therefore pleased with the work and satisfied with the results. One of our main difficulties is the obtaining of branch premises: a difficulty we hope soon to dispose of. Much interest is shown by the men in East London in all our lectures, many hoping, and this hope is in no wise singular, to shortly throw their time and energy into the East London branch.—I. BLAUSTEIN.

EDMONTON.

I hasten to give a few words on the position here in hopes that though few, their publication in "The Socialist Standard" may interest com-

rades in other parts, even if conferring an honour upon sleepy Edmonton.

In future issues of our paper I may be given an opportunity of tracing from their earlier stages the growth of the reform parties, etc., already existing here, and of showing from an analysis of their political manifestations the chief reason of the apathy of many and the despair of others when forced to contemplate the Social Problem, but meantime it will be sufficient to say that those causes and their results combined simply rendered more imperative than ever the formation of a Socialist organisation in this district—that, therefore, in obedience to the law of necessity, and as the advertiser would put it, "to fill a longfelt want," The Edmonton Branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was constituted. Since that moment success has been ours. Our propaganda meetings—of which we hold two every Sunday—have proved very encouraging indeed, fully justifying our appearance. The absolutely unsolicited testimonials given us in the shape of planned attacks upon our meetings by a few persons calling themselves Social-Democrats, have done much to clear the political atmosphere and to show the workers of Edmonton exactly who's who. Needless to say those attacks (some of them dirtier even than

the weather we have lately experienced) were met by a courtesy and tolerance on the part of our speakers somewhat disconcerting to those men who yet seem ignorant of the power of truth, and who through failing to understand that Socialists can be gentlemen, affect at times the disposition of the hooligan or the bully.

However, be that as it may, those attacks will soon cease. Even a bully knows when he is thoroughly beaten, and as we are not children to be frightened away, but men and women strong in the rectitude of our principles and organised in a party that understands them, being ready at all times, as during the past two months, to give a good account of ourselves—to repel effectually all attempts to check our progress, no matter under what guise the pseudo-reform-quack politicians choose to appear—we look with assurance to the future. After two months' work we are numerically and financially stronger, richer in enthusiasm, and as firm in our determination to win as we are confident of victory.

For assistance in the past and anticipating a continuance of it in the future, we desire to place on record our appreciation of and indebtedness to, our speakers and the party generally, while to help in organising for the grand, the final fight the workers of Edmonton will gladly welcome our new ally, "The Socialist Standard."

All hail "The Socialist Standard!"
Speed the Social Revolution.—A. ANDERSON.

FULHAM.

This branch was formed in mid-July and is already carrying on a vigorous and well-conducted propaganda. Our open-air meetings are held at 11.30 a.m. on Sundays at the corner of Waterford Road and King's Road. In Fulham there is a large number of workers who are beginning to understand that nothing short of the Social Revolution will benefit them. Thus there is a good prospect for the success of our branch of the Socialist Party, and it is with the most optimistic of views that the comrades here rally round the flag of The Socialist Party with the determination of helping to build up a sound organisation to free the workers from the enslavement of capitalism.—E. J. B. ALLEN, Sec.

ISLINGTON.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain having been inaugurated on the 12th of June, 1904, its Islington branch was formed two days later, on the 14th. Its members commenced their outdoor propaganda with a mass meeting in Finsbury Park on the 19th June, which turned out a success, the audience at one time reaching 2,000. We are carrying on meetings on Sunday mornings and evenings in Finsbury Park. We have also started week night meetings on Wednesdays at Highbury Corner, where we meet with an appreciative hearing from an intelligent audience. Our membership is steadily growing, having now reached 20, and this number will be soon augmented as we intend getting in touch with several unattached Socialists who are in agreement with our principles.—W. L. AUGER, Branch Correspondent.

PADDINGTON.

The Paddington Branch was formed the week following the first meeting of the Party. From that time we have made splendid progress. We are increasing our membership, and it is rare for a week to pass without having made new recruits for the cause of Revolutionary Socialism. Our members are giving their best effort and energy, for the purpose of making this district a stronghold of our party. Each member of our branch recognises his responsibility, and takes his place in the fighting line. Since the time we were enrolled as members of The Socialist Party of Great Britain, our propaganda meetings have been attended by increased audiences who take a keen interest in our lectures. We feel convinced now that a straight Socialist Party is formed in this locality, the members of our class will rally to our support.

The sale of good educational literature has increased, showing that insistence upon the existence of the class-struggle and the principles of

Socialism clearly explained, create a desire on the part of the working-class to learn more of our movement, and the object for which we are striving. The branch has been successful in opening and extending our propaganda to Regent's Park. The meetings held have been very encouraging, members of the audience expressing their congratulations on our efforts to build up a branch of our party in that district, and we are confident that in a short space of time a new branch will be the result. The increased propaganda has the effect of calling into action all our resources, the result of which has the good effect of developing more members capable of taking the chair at our propaganda meetings, which is a good training for future speakers of the party. Our experience is that punctuality at outdoor meetings is essential to insure a successful meeting. We find that an audience interested in our propaganda will congregate near the spot, just about the time for the meeting to commence, so that to start late causes a bad impression. The success of our outdoor propaganda depends largely on the internal organisation and administration of the branch business. Therefore we strive to improve our organisation by a careful system and method, so that our members know what work they have to perform. The prospect for us looks very bright. We are the only party that can gain the attention of the working-class in this district. With an increasing membership, and a demand for literature, there is a certainty of our paper having a large circulation. It is our intention to leave no stone unturned in extending the sale of "The Socialist Standard" and to keep on forging ahead for the purpose of building up a strong, class-conscious movement in the West of London, which shall be a source of strength and vigour to The Socialist Party of Great Britain.—T. W. ALLEN, Secretary.

PECKHAM.

THINGS are going very well with us in Peckham. Our branch meetings are well attended, our membership is increasing, our members are good workers, we have very good discussions on Friday evenings, which is a good way of training likely speakers. We are putting in good outdoor work, holding well-attended meetings in Rye Lane on Thursday evenings, as well as Sunday meetings on the Rye. So you see, we are going strong.—W. RUSSELL.

TOOTING.

CONSIDERING that the Tooting Branch has been in existence only five weeks, most of which time has been occupied in organising the branch, we can hardly claim to have yet enlightened the workers of this district to a true understanding of their position, or to our just claim to be considered The Socialist Party of Great Britain. Nevertheless so encouraging has been our opening, so well attended have been our meetings, that the speaker at a meeting of the S.D.F. announced from the platform that so great had been the spread of Socialism in the district that the formation of another Socialist party had been rendered necessary. Our explanation of our principles and policy are so much appreciated that every branch meeting has seen an increase to our membership. Our greatest hope is in the intelligent and appreciative audiences we have at our meetings and in the many unattached Socialists in Tooting.—C. GOSS, Sec.

WATFORD.

SINCE the formation of the Watford branch we have held seven out-door propaganda meetings, and in addition to these on July 31st we had a regular field day, two mass meetings being held, one in the afternoon and one in the evening, the latter with a very large and attentive audience. Our speakers are listened to with attention and interest and questions are usually asked, so much so that comrade Fitzgerald was answering questions for hour and a half on one occasion. Up to the present we have sold about 9s. worth of literature, and hope to materially increase our sales on the advent of the "Socialist Standard." We are running an economic class with comrade Fitzgerald as instructor, which is open for any-

one to join. Our members are all enthusiastic workers and are determined to do everything in their power to forward the cause of uncompromising Socialism, in spite of a whole host of reform and bogus labour parties.—C. T. KING, Organiser.

WEST HAM.

THIS branch has started with a fair membership and is pursuing an active propaganda at Dames Road, Forest Gate, one of the best places in West Ham for the purpose. Now we have shaken ourselves down and got into working order, we intend spreading ourselves out a bit and so have arranged to render assistance to other districts. Commencing with the first week in September, we will hold meetings at Devon's Road, Poplar, on Sunday-mornings, to assist our East End comrades, who are having an uphill fight in that district. We will hold our own meetings as usual at 7 p.m., and on Monday evenings we shall start propagating our principles at Roden Road, Ilford, where there is every prospect of the early formation of a strong branch. We want some more good, sound literature, and trust that the E.C. of the party will see their way to furnish it at an early date.—G. H. (This matter of literature is receiving our most serious consideration.—Ed. Com.)

WOOD GREEN.

THIS branch is at present holding its branch meetings in the secretary's house. Efforts are being made to secure more suitable premises which can be made the real centre of propaganda in the district. Our members are all real live Socialists, each taking some share in the propaganda of uncompromising Socialism, with the result that our membership has considerably increased. Our meetings at Jolly Butchers' Hill prove that there is a growing interest in our principles, there being questions and discussion at most of those meetings. The branch keeps a keen eye upon local affairs, with the doings and misdoings of the Administrative councils. In Wood Green the future is full of promise for The Socialist Party of Great Britain.—JOHN CRUMP, Secretary.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

CENTRAL OFFICE.

COMMUNIST CLUB,
107, CHARLOTTE STREET,
FITZROY SQUARE, LONDON, W.

General Secretary C. LEHANE.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Sydney Hall, York Road, Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Business transacted every Saturday at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W. Membership in the Central Branch can be obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST LONDON (Central).—I. Blaustein, Secretary, 14, Cecil St., Mile End, E. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. at 96, Kerbey St., Poplar, E.

EDMONTON.—A. Jacobs, Secretary, 26, Oxford Rd., Lower Edmonton, N. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.

FULHAM.—E. J. B. Allen, Secretary, 49, Mablethorpe Rd., Fulham Cross, S.W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.

ISLINGTON.—J. McNicol, Secretary, 179, Isledon Rd., Finsbury Park, N. Branch meets every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m., at the Co-operative Stores, 79, Grove Road, Holloway, N.

PADDINGTON.—T. W. Allen, Secretary, 39, Portnall Road, Paddington, W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m., at 154, Ashmore Rd., Paddington, W.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secretary, 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m., at 38, High St., Peckham, S.E.

SOUTHWARK.—S. Eden, Secretary, 63, Penrose St., Walworth. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m., at the Café, Walworth.

TOOTING.—C. Goss, Secretary, 78, Balham Grove, Balham, S.W. Branch meets every alternate Tuesday 8 p.m., at the Nelson Coffee Tavern, 40, High St., Tooting.

WATFORD.—D. R. Newlands, Secretary, 5, Highfield Rd., Bushey, Herts. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m., 73, Harwoods Rd., Watford. Economic Class every Sunday at 3 p.m.

WEST HAM.—G. J. Hodson, Secretary, Kelmscott, Sidney Road, Forest Gate, E. Branch meets every alternate Wednesday at 8.30 p.m., at the address given.

WOOD GREEN.—J. Crump, Secretary, 10, Stanley Villas, Westbury Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.

LECTURE LIST, September, 1904.

BATTERSEA.—Prince of Wales Head, York Road, 11.30 Sept. 4, A. Anderson; 11, C. Lehan; 25, W. Woodhouse. Battersea Park, 6.30 Sept. 4, J. Kent; 11, C. Lehan; 25, H. C. Phillips. Wandsworth Common, 6.30 Sept. 4, T. Allen; 11, H. Belsey; 25, A. Albery.

EAST LONDON.—Obelisk, Devon's Road, Poplar, 11.30 Sept. 4, I. Blaustein; 11, W. Woodhouse; 25, T. Jacobs. Mile End Waste, 7 Sept. 4, Woodhouse; 11, T. Jacobs; 25, T. Allen.

EDMONTON.—The Green, 11.30 Sept. 4, Lehan; 11, I. Blaustein; 25, J. Crump. Angel Road, 7 Sept. 4, J. Fitzgerald; 11, W. Woodhouse; 25, A. Anderson.

FULHAM.—Waterford Road, 11.30 Sept. 4, A. Albery; 11, T. Allen; 25, J. Fitzgerald.

ISLINGTON.—Finsbury Park, 11.30 Sept. 4, J. Fitzgerald; 11, H. J. Hawkins; A. Anderson. Finsbury Park, 7 Sept. 4, C. Lehan; 11, F. C. Watts; 25, E. J. B. Allen. Highbury Corner, Wed. 8.30 Sept. 7, C. Lehan; 14, R. Elrick; C. Lehan; 28, J. Fitzgerald.

PADDINGTON.—Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, 11.30 Sept. 4, F. Watts; 11, A. Anderson; 25, H. Hawkins. Regent's Park, 11.30 Sept. 4, F. Leigh; 11, J. Crump; 25, T. Allen.

PECKHAM.—Peckham Rye, 6.30 Sept. 4, R. Kenny; 11, E. T. B. Allen; 25, T. Fitzgerald.

SOUTHWARK.—Kennington Triangle, 11.30 Sept. 4, W. Woodhouse; 11, A. Albery; 25, H. Belsey.

TOOTING.—Gathon Road, 11.30 Sept. 4, H. Belsey; 11, H. C. Phillips; 25, T. Jackson. Tooting Broadway, 7 Sept. 4, R. Elrick; 11, A. Albery; 25, H. Hawkins; ditto, Wednesdays, 8 o'clock, 7, Branch; 14, Branch; 21, Branch; 28, Branch.

WATFORD.—Market Place, 7 Sept. 4, H. Hawkins; 11, J. Fitzgerald; 25, C. Lehan.

WEST HAM.—Wanstead Park Station, 7 Sept. 4, A. Anderson; 11, J. Kent; 25, J. Kent. Roden Street, Ilford, Mon. 8 p.m. 5, Branch; 12, Branch; 19, Branch; 26, Branch.

WOOD GREEN.—Jolly Butchers Hill, 11.30 Sept. 4, T. Jackson; 11, R. Kenny; 25, J. Crump; ditto, 6.30 Sept. 4, J. Crump; 11, T. Allen; 25, F. S. Leigh.

All speakers and branch secretaries are requested to note their engagements and Branch Lecture List for ensuing month, and to address all communications respecting same to

A. C. DOWDESWELL,
44, Howland St.,
Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

The great demand made upon our space by the transactions of the International Socialist Congress has caused many articles and reports to be held over. With our next issue, however, several new and interesting features will be introduced.

the
Official Organ
of the
Socialist Party
of
Great Britain.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

No. 2. Vol. I.]

LONDON, OCTOBER, 1904.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

Is There a Class War?

MR. J. KEIR-HARDIE, M.P.,
ANSWERS "YES-NO" AND
"NO-YES!"

The "Socialist" humorist of the day is Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P. At least, Mr. Hardie *claims* to be a Socialist. Of his humour there is no question. That it is unconscious humour makes the gentleman's contortions even a little pitiful. Mr. Hardie has Capitalist friends. He is a Reform politician. One of his methods of advancing Socialism is to give electoral support to non-Socialists—he would, in fact, cast out Beelzebub by means of Beelzebub. Consequently, he appears to find himself in this dilemma: he desires to "moralise" the capitalists; thinks it possible that the wolves of Commercialism will loose their hold upon their prey voluntarily, and, whilst he is incapable of arguing the position, feels instinctively that he cannot reconcile reform with the fundamental principle of the class war, without recognition of which no scientific theory of Socialism is possible.

In order to conclusively prove this statement it is only necessary to place together the contradictory expressions used by Mr. Keir Hardie himself in a recent article entitled "An Indictment of the Class War."

Mr. Hardie states on the one hand:

"For my own part, I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist movement that it is a 'class' war dependent for its success upon the 'class' consciousness of one section of the community, is doing Socialism an injustice, and indefinitely postponing its triumph. It is, in fact, lowering it to the level of a mere faction fight."

On the other hand, he also states:

"Now, it is not disputed that there is a conflict of interests between those who own property and those who work for wages. The tenant and his landlord and the worker and his employer have interests which lead to inevitable conflict and antagonism, and the object of Socialism is the removal of the causes which produce this antagonism."

It appears, then, that "conflict" is not "war" and "antagonism" means—mutual interest between two opposing classes! Perhaps Mr. Hardie also considers confusion the same thing as clearness.

Later, this amusingly superficial thinker states "the working class is not a class, it is the nation." How it can be a class and not a class at the same time we leave Mr. Hardie to explain, and he may also let us know what he means by the following:

"Socialism will come, not by a war of classes, but by economic circumstances forcing the proletariat into a revolt, which will absorb the middle class, and thus wipe out classes together."

Thus we have a class which is not a class, a nation without classes, which yet contains a working class and a middle class, the revolt—not war!—of the former which is to "absorb" the latter and the wiping out of classes with-

out those hostile operations which, in ordinary language, are tersely denominated war. And all this confused medley of what is either ignorant stupidity or deliberate misleading in order that Mr. Keir Hardie may somehow or the other cover the defeat of himself, of his friend Jaures and of the Utopians generally at the International Congress.

But whilst we may smile at the scarcely concealed anger and dismay of the Confusionists at the growth of uncompromising Socialism, it becomes a rather more serious matter when we find this moral philosopher misquoting the works of recognised exponents of scientific Socialism and claiming that such men as, for instance, Belfort Bax, are supporting his compromising attitude. In his well-known "Ethics of Socialism," this author has stated:

"All class-character *qua* class character is bad The particular class-qualities in the character of the modern capitalist may be roughly indicated by the definition, *vulgarity is a solution of hypocrisy*; the particular class-qualities in the character of the modern proletarian as *brutality is a solution of severity*."

Mr. Hardie leaves out the three essential words "*qua* class-character," and makes Bax's definitions to read respectively—

"*Vulgarity is a solution of hypocrisy*," and "*brutality is a solution of severity*."

By this substitution Mr. Hardie totally alters the character of the thought expressed.

In non-ethical circles this is known as dishonesty.

But not content with mutilating what he does quote, Mr. Hardie leaves out all those portions of the article in question which would enable his readers to gain an intelligent idea of the author's real meaning. Will it be believed that in this very essay, Mr. Bax contemptuously dismisses the Keir Hardie attitude as that of a—

"Benevolent old gentleman who says, 'Let us ignore classes, let us regard each other as human beings,'"

And as that of the "benevolent bourgeois Radical"?

It seems most remarkable that anyone noting the differentiation between natural class-instinct and the political class conscious action of the workers insisted on by Bax can possibly hold Mr. Hardie's conclusions. For does not Bax say in the same article:

"Classes exist; you may ignore them, but they will exist still with the respective characters they engender. Though you ignore them, they will not ignore you."

In the Socialist workman the class-instinct has become transformed into the conviction that, in the words of Lassalle, 'he is called to raise the principle of his class into the principle of the age.' He knows that in the moment of victory—of the realisation of the dominion of his class—the ugly head of class itself must fall, and society emerge. Militant, his cause is identified with class; triumphant, with Humanity."

Poor, indeed, must be the case of the Reformist reactionaries when they have to bolster up their absurd and contemptible position by misquotation and suppression. The marvellous thing is that any intelligent being should be duped by such palpable dishonesty.

H. J. HAWKINS.

PARTY NOTES.

THE encouraging results attending our outdoor propaganda continue. New members are being enrolled every week. But if comrades in charge of the meetings would keep a sharper look out greater results still would be achieved.

At the close of the meetings, one can usually observe a few persons remaining after the bulk of the audience has gone away. In many cases these persons are waiting to be approached by our members. They are a little shy of taking the initiative, but our comrades should break the ice and introduce themselves in a friendly way.

Then a quiet suggestion could be made that if they find themselves in agreement with the position of the speaker to whom they have just been listening, they ought to join the party and help to spread the light. On the other hand, any point on which there may exist any misconception could be plainly elucidated and the listeners will go away impressed with the opinion that at any rate the members of The Socialist Party of Great Britain have a sincere desire to impart a knowledge of the true position of the working class.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, if we judge by the first number, has been a success. The sales have been good. We have to thank the many readers who have expressed their appreciation of its contents.

While we recognise the strenuous efforts made by our comrades in disposing of the papers, we trust that they will not slacken those efforts. We fully realise that we have brought out our paper at the worst possible time—the end of our summer propagandist season. That being so, we must rely on our members to use their best endeavours to boom the paper in the winter months. The paper is the property of the party, and its success is desired by all who have the best interests of the party at heart.

Since our last issue we have to chronicle the formation of two new branches—one in Clerkenwell, London, and the other in the Romford Division of Essex. All Socialists in these districts should get in touch with these branches so as to make them the nuclei of strong local bodies.

We have had further requests for information from various parts of the country, and we think the result will be that in the near future we shall be able to record the formation of branches in the provinces.

Any Socialist desiring to obtain information as to the constitution or principles of the Socialist Party of Great Britain will receive courteous consideration at our hands. We shall always be willing to satisfy any doubts in the minds of our correspondents or to give them any information.

Any Socialists residing in any district where no branch of the party exists may, pending the formation of such branch, become members of the Central Branch of the party.

C. LEHANE.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

General Meeting.

At the Communist Club, 17, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W., on Sept. 18, 1904, was held the general meeting of The Socialist Party of Great Britain. A good number of the members were present. The Secretary having called the meeting to order, Comrade Kent was appointed to the chair. The Standing Orders Committee having been appointed, the Secretary read the Report of the Executive Committee as follows:

"Unlike other organisations in this country claiming to be Socialist, and, therefore, democratic, we have not deemed it necessary to hold our meetings in secret and to exercise our discretion as to what translations should be made known to you. All that we have concealed from you, it is our opinion that each and every member of our party is entitled to know what is going on inside the organisation. Under the political conditions now prevailing in Great Britain, and other countries governed by Parliaments, conspiracy is discarded as a revolutionary method, and the plea for secrecy is put forward only by organisations ignorant of political development, or whose leaders desire to hoodwink the rank and file.

Most of us have had experience of the political confidence trick in the Social-Democratic Federation and other organisations. Therefore your Executive Committee from the very beginning threw their meetings open to any member of the Party desiring to be present during the transaction of the business, and the opportunity was, we are pleased to state, freely availed of. Not a single one of our meetings was held that was not attended by non-members of the Executive Committee, and our discussions were, with permission, frequently participated in by them.

This fact would largely obviate the need for a report of our proceedings, but as for various reasons the bulk of our membership could not be present at our meetings, we will proceed to detail our work during the first three months of the existence of the party."

The Report then after giving details of the party membership and the attendances of the members of the Executive Committee, resumes:

"We have to the best of our ability carried out the instructions you have given us. Mass meetings have been held in various parts of London with the twofold object of heralding the advent of the party and collecting funds for the extension of our propaganda, and in both respects we have had a record success. A lecture list has been organised which will well bear comparison with that of any political organisation holding propaganda meetings in the metropolis. The party has at its disposal over 15 speakers whose vigorous and sustained outdoor work has enabled us to hold over 20 meetings each Sunday and many others on week-days. Altogether about 300 propaganda meetings have been held since the inception of the party.

The lack of suitable literature soon made itself manifest, and the want of this most powerful instrument of propaganda has to a large extent negated the good effect of our speakers' addresses. When the party was forced into existence, we found ourselves without any literature of our own, and an examination of the literature published by other organisations did not reveal very encouraging results. We did not, however, believe that bad literature was better than none, and decided to ask the branches to be careful of the literature they handled and recommended them for the time being to confine themselves to the list furnished them by this committee.

Many otherwise suitable pamphlets—among them several published in America—had to be discarded owing to the presence of objectionable advertisements, and even in the selected list some were found to which the same objection was raised. The question of the publication by the party of pamphlets explanatory of our position has engaged our attention, but pressure of business at the Centre and lack of the

necessary funds have prevented us from taking more active steps in this direction.

To facilitate the purchase of books, pamphlets, and all suitable literature, we have established a Literature Agency, which has been largely availed of. The development and extension of the agency will be greatly aided when adequate accommodation for this department is provided by the acquisition of party premises. For the building up of a library of Socialist and Socialist literature, time and money are required, and when sufficient of the one has been got, and the other comes in, we have no doubt the party will fully equip itself in this respect.

At the inaugural meeting you instructed us to open a fund for the establishment of a party organ and the first number appeared on the 1st inst.

Owing to the whole-hearted manner in which the branches have taken up the prospect of the party organ, a sale of two-thirds of the total issue each month is guaranteed, and the really splendid response made by the members to our call for funds to start and maintain THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has placed our paper on a sound financial basis.

Deeming it advisable that the party should be represented at the International Congress, we decided to ask our comrade John Kent to proceed to Amsterdam. Comrade Alexander Pearson was also furnished with credentials. Our delegates were seated and The Socialist Party of Great Britain was duly recognised by the International Congress.

The report of the party delegates to the Congress has already appeared in THE SOCIALIST STANDARD and you will be asked to discuss it at this meeting.

The question of trades unionism and the attitude of our party thereto has been the subject matter of two meetings of the party. The discussions which have taken place at these meetings have been of an extremely interesting and highly educational character, and an incalculable amount of good is bound to follow from the free and frank expression of opinions on a subject which is at present engaging the attention of the workers, particularly of this country.

We venture to assert that never before in the history of the working-class movement in Britain has the question of trades unionism been so searchingly investigated from a scientific standpoint. We have no trade union leaders to conciliate, neither have we the desire to alienate the sympathies of any section of the working-class. The absence of vested interests in the maintaining of the *status quo* of unclass-consciousness economic organisations has enabled our party to examine the question in the light of science unhampered by any consideration other than the desire to find the truth, and as a result of the discussions which have taken place, we are able to lay before you a resolution, confident that your decision upon it will be the outcome of an earnest and honest desire to further the cause in which we are embarked.

We have discussed at some length the question of the training of speakers. We have also considered the question of the education of the members in general, in order that the party may be better fitted for the struggle for working class emancipation, and with this object in view have organised a Central Economic Class for the purpose of disseminating a knowledge of the scientific basis of Socialism.

The Peckham branch has placed at the disposal of the party their printing press, and this is already being utilised for the printing of propaganda leaflets.

Dealing with the progress of the party, we have to report the formation of 14 branches, viz., Battersea, Central, Clerkenwell, East London, Edmonton, Fulham, Islington, Paddington, Peckham, Southwark, Tooting, Watford, West Ham, Wood Green, and the increase of members has been considerable.

Our party is now firmly established in the metropolis, and its influence is being spread into the provinces where we have several members and hope soon to have more branches.

We claim that we have done all that could be accomplished in the circumstances and within the time. This has meant work for us. Not a single penny has been paid to any of our members for their services, but the consciousness of the inevitable triumph of our cause is sufficient

ward for any exertions we may have put forth, and the knowledge that in that triumph will amplify the positions and teachings of the party, will, we are confident, stimulate the efforts of the members towards greater efforts for the up-building of The Socialist Party of Great Britain."

This report having been accepted by the party, the questions of the Party Organ, Literature Agency, etc., were then taken up, and after a lengthy and able discussion, the rules of the party were decided upon.

The following officers were appointed:—
Treasurer—Alec. M. Doherty.
Executive Committee—Comrades E. Allen, T. Kent, A. Anderson, Crump, Elrick, Fairbrother, Fitzgerald, H. W. Jones, H. Jones, H. Jones, Woodhouse.

Auditors—Comrades Nowlands and Neumann.

The meeting, after singing "The Internationale," broke up, with hearty cheering for the Social Revolution and the triumph of Socialism.

Socialism and Labour Politics.

We reprint the following from the *Ilford Guardian*:

SPEAKING under the auspices of the Honorary Division of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, at the annual Monday evening open-air meeting held at the corner of Boden Street, Ilford, Essex, Mr. John Kent said that there were many misconceptions with regard to Socialism, and with one of them, namely, that what were usually called "Labour Politics" were the politics of the Socialist Party, he wished to deal. The politics of Labour, as an expression, referred to the political views of the workers organised into Trades Unions. They had, therefore, only to consider the various resolutions passed by and the attitude adopted at the Trade Union Congress of the previous week to recognise the very essential difference between them and the sound representatives of Socialism in this country—The Socialist Party of Great Britain. Let them take the views expressed by the Congress President, Mr. R. Bell, M.P., who was endeavouring to square the circle by taking the money of Organised Labour and at the same time doing the work of Organised Capital, by supporting Capitalist candidates and members of Parliament. In his opening address he had urged Labour to take a leaf out of the book of the brewers and the publicans, who he declared, had held a loaded revolver at the head of the Government, with the threat that if the Government did not do as they wished, they would turn them out. Let Labour, said Mr. Bell, present a loaded revolver at the Government, and state that if those conditions which Labour considered fair and reasonable were not granted, then Labour would turn out the Government.

But, said Mr. Kent, let us carry this to its logical conclusion. If a Government, whether of the Tory or Liberal section of the master class, would give Labour these things, then Labour must keep that Government in office. And what were these things? They were mere unimportant (to the capitalist class) scraps which Government could give without sacrificing anything of a fundamental character. Thus, the Congress, on the motion of Mr. W. Steadman, declared in favour of a pension of 5s. a week to workmen reaching the age of sixty. What was the use of this? How many workmen could work up to sixty? The Polytechnic Labour Bureau stated in its circulars that the employers rarely asked for men over 35 years of age.

But, supposing a workman was unfortunate enough to live to be sixty, of what use was 5s. a week to him? The Socialist Party of Great Britain would not waste time upon such petty proposals. If the wealth producer was entitled, as they claimed he was, to anything at all, he had a right to full maintenance whenever he became unfit for work. But he would never secure his rights by appealing to the Capitalist Government. He must organise to take them for himself. The speaker dealt similarly with other resolutions passed at the Trade Union Congress, and declared in conclusion that the true interests of the people lay in allying themselves with the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

THE DOGEY OF THE TAXES.

A GREAT cry is being raised at the present time by two sections of the capitalist class about the question of taxation in relation to Import Duties. Mr. Chamberlain and his Conservative friends have suddenly discovered that a large amount of poverty, misery, and want of employment exists around us among the working-class. This is due, says this section, to the foreigner "dumping" his goods upon our markets, underselling the home producer, and thereby bringing about unemployment by preventing the home trader from disposing of his goods. The latter cannot retaliate upon the "foreigner's" market owing to the tariff wall erected around it to keep him out. At once the remedy comes to the front: Tax the foreigner's goods, and keep them off our market, then the English manufacturer will be able to employ more "hands," and raise prices, to the benefit of the whole community.

But our Tory saviours shut their eyes to the state of Germany where Protection reigns, and where the nation has been passing through the worst trade depression it has ever known, with the concomitant evils of unemployment, want and misery for the working-class. If Protection be a remedy, how is it that it has failed in this case? Again, in America, which has just passed through a big "boom" of trade, the inevitable depression has set in and men are being discharged in thousands from the railways and other industries to tramp about in a vain search for employment and to consider the beauties of Protection, and high prices.

Mr. Chamberlain also claims that if Protection were adopted, wages would rise. As he means wages reckoned in corn, his opponents point triumphantly to Germany and France, where wages, reckoned in the same way, are lower than in England, while he retorts by pointing to America, where the wages are higher. The one thing that this does prove is that wages are determined by some factor independent of fiscal policies or tax juggling, and thereby places both sections of fiscal trumpet blowers out of court.

The Free Traders, largely Liberals, claim that the enormous increase of "our" trade and "our" business has been due to the abolition of the Corn Laws and the general policy of Free Trade. "Our" wealth has increased by leaps and bounds, and "our" prosperity is marvellous—so marvellous, in fact, that if Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to increase the tax on wheat is carried, the 3d. or 3d. increase in the retail price of the loaf of bread will cast the twelve or thirteen millions of people already on or below the poverty-line into the deepest depths of misery and wretchedness. It would not need a very elaborate calculation to estimate the date when, if "our" prosperity continues, the whole of the workers will be in the position of those before mentioned.

Therefore, as they, the Free Traders, are the "real friends" of the working-class, they call upon that class to vote them into possession of the political machinery for the purpose of saving the workers from this dire evil that is about to be inflicted upon them. True, some cantankerous person may point out that this party is chiefly concerned in having cheap food, so that the cost of production of labour-power may, as a consequence, be cheap also; that following the abolition of the Corn Laws these humane manufacturers reduced wages in the textile industries by an average of about 14 per cent.; that they opposed the Factory Acts, which had been introduced to protect women and children, with all their power; that when returned to power in 1892 upon the well-known Newcastle program, while they sent soldiers to shoot down the miners of Featherstone and a gunboat to "pacify" the dockers at Hull, they quite forgot to pass measures such as Payment of Members, Triennial Parliaments, One Man One Vote, Payment of Election Expenses, which they had pledged themselves to make law. Another might draw attention to the fact that a large section of this party import raw material and use large quantities of flour, etc., in the manufacture of cotton and other textiles, and that they are

quite as much concerned in cheap wheat for this reason as for giving the worker a big loaf.

The serious-minded worker who does his own thinking will probably at first be amazed at the money, the energy and dexterity expended by both sections of the capitalist class, or its agents, in this campaign—all for the benefit of the working-class. He watches them handling figures and statistics in a way that must cause Cinquevalli to turn green with envy, each proving splendidly that the poverty and misery is bound to increase if the proposals of the other side are adopted! If, however, he turns from the assertions, contradictions, and general bewilderment that surrounds these howling Cheap Jacks, and examines the facts of the situation calmly, his amazement will disappear.

In any form of civilised society certain common expenses have to be met by the members of that society in one way or another, depending upon the conditions and form of that society. As the wealth of all communities can only be produced by applying human labour to the raw material provided by Nature, it follows that the working-class produces all the wealth in existence, no matter to what purpose it may be turned. But here a significant fact comes to light. While the working class dig the ore, construct the machines, build the mills and factories, lay the railways—in short, bring forth all the instruments and machinery necessary for the production and distribution of wealth, yet they own neither these instruments nor the wealth when it is produced. It does not matter in what direction or with what object any member of the working class wishes to apply his energies in the production of wealth, he will find a barrier to that application in the fact that some individual or individuals belonging to another class own and control the raw material and the machinery necessary to convert it, and who will only permit the worker to operate these instruments upon the condition that the wealth produced is left in the capitalist's possession to dispose of as he pleases.

Of course, it will be easily understood that if there were no working class to exploit, the capitalist class would have to work to keep itself, and they are therefore bound to return to the workers sufficient of the wealth they have produced to keep them in a state of working efficiency and to reproduce their kind.

The capitalists may differ among themselves as to the exact point at which this standard may be fixed, but they are unanimous in fighting to retain for themselves all above this limit. The workers, on the other hand, are always struggling to increase their share of the wealth produced, with varying degrees of success, which results in individual or sectional wages varying, but makes the return to the class as a whole a close approximation to the cost of living under the conditions obtaining in that society. It thus becomes evident that the taxes must be paid out of the surplus wealth extracted from the workers by the capitalists; this explains not only the latter's interest in the question of taxation, but also why it is of small moment to the worker.

"But," says the Free Trader, "all taxes fall upon the consumer, and therefore the workman will have to pay increased prices for the articles he purchases if a tax is placed upon them." The obvious retort is that as the working class are the only producers, but not the only consumers, it is from the former point of view that they should look at the matter. But apart from this, the statement is not true of itself. Prices are determined primarily by the cost of production, and immediately by supply and demand. The variations in the latter cause prices to fluctuate, but the point above and below which they move, and tend to come to rest, is the value of the article—or, technically, all commodities exchange upon the average at their value. If owing to circumstances a commodity were being sold above its value, fresh capital would soon be turned in that direction, and competition and extra supply would cause prices to fall. If being sold below its value, part of the capital would be withdrawn, and the diminished supply, other things remaining constant, would cause prices to rise to the normal level.

Whatever may be the conditions at any given time, the capitalist always sells at the

highest price the market will bear at that period. Articles that are easily produced are often taxed without affecting the retail price at all, as shown in the taxes on tea, beer, and spirits, while in the case of tobacco one grade is sold retail at a price almost equalling the tax imposed! When the 1s. duty was laid on corn the price of bread rose in a few districts, but in the majority of cases it remained stationary, and when the duty was removed the wholesale price of corn rose! House rent offers another good example. Often when the landlord raises the rent he makes the excuse that the rates have gone up, but he never offers to lower them when rates go down, showing thereby that it is only an excuse, and that while competition for houses continues rents will rise. When the Central London Railway was opened the competition for houses in Shepherd's Bush increased largely, and as a consequence rents rose as much as 3s. in the £. This was the limit offered for the time being and when shortly after rates were raised by a good sum, the rents remained unaltered. At West Ham, which is the most heavily rated district in England, rents are falling, while rates are rising, owing to the decreased demand for houses. These illustrations show how little the question of rates affects the workers who pay rent.

This is still more true regarding so-called monopolies whose productions are sold at the highest price obtainable consistent with the carrying on of business, and even if they were taxed up to the point of absorbing profits, other things remaining constant, the business might close, but obviously prices could not be raised. An instance from Australia may be cited. The Standard Oil Company have a practical monopoly of the petroleum oil entering that continent, and until a short time ago a duty of 3d. per gallon was levied upon it. The company charged 6d. per gallon to the retailers, who paid the tax and sold the oil at 11d. per gallon. An agitation was set on foot to have this tax taken off "the poor man's oil," which after some perseverance was effected.

On the same day that the duty was abolished Rockefeller raised the price to the retailers to 9d. a gallon, who sold it to the consumers at the same price as before—in other words, Rockefeller was relieved from paying the tax that until then he had paid upon his product entering the country, and the working class were in exactly the same position as before. In London the abolition of the coal dues levied by the City authorities did not alter the retail price one farthing.

It is thus easily seen that if the whole of the taxes were abolished it would not benefit the working class unless competition among the capitalists drove prices down in proportion, and then others would benefit as well, while the workers would have to resist a reduction of wages.

The question thus becomes reduced to one of a quarrel between the big and the little thieves as to the apportionment of the cost of maintaining the present system, and is expressed chiefly by the small middle-class forming various tax-reform parties with the object of curtailing the powers of the monopolists and big capitalists. Being only really concerned with the problem of how to stop the robbery under which they suffer, the workers should take no stock of the quarrel over the paying of the expenses of the burglary. Whether he is living in a country whose fiscal policy is based on Free Trade or in one in which it is based upon Protection; whether the country is highly taxed or otherwise; whether the district he lives in is highly rated or the reverse, makes little difference; the worker finds that whatever of the above conditions he may be under, a subsistence is all that upon an average he obtains.

Firmly gripping the above sound and logical position, The Socialist Party, the only party truly representing the workers, makes its attack upon the central pivotal position—to capture the political machinery and therewith control of economic powers and social forces—taxation and the armed forces of the nation, for the purpose of ending the robbery by overthrowing the system of Capitalism, emancipating the working class, and laying the foundations of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

J. FITZGERALD.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

All communications for insertion to be addressed to the Editorial Committee, 1, Arden Road, High-bury, N., and to be authenticated by name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication. Though we cannot undertake, owing to our limited space, to publish all we may receive, every thing sent in will receive careful consideration.

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The Socialist Standard,
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1904.

EDITORIAL

The Futility of Reform.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has often been asked why they have not drawn up a programme of measures for the partial redress of those evils which most immediately affect the position of the working class. "Should we not strive to palliate the existing misery?" "Should we not seek to foster the sectional differences existing among the capitalists so that we may use them in the interests of the working class?" "Should we not temporarily support, or form temporary alliances with, other political parties while working for common ends?" These and other questions of like import are constantly being put to us by non-members of our party. We now propose to answer them.

The basis of modern society is, economically, the holding by one section of the community of the means necessary for producing and distributing the means of living of the whole of the community, i.e., the ownership by a class of the whole wealth of society. As against them there is the vast mass of the people owning nothing but their "labour-power," their power of working.

The worker being compelled to sell this power of working on the labour market, in return for his means of livelihood, has interests diametrically opposed to those of the employer who buys his activity. Hence two classes with conflicting interests, constantly meeting on the labour market, must necessarily engage in a struggle in which each combatant can gain only at the expense of the other. Such a struggle between classes forms a class war.

Economically, the working class are impotent so long as the employing class has possession of political power. Therefore, the class struggle must manifest itself as a political struggle for class supremacy. The working class can only gain their ends by taking possession of the political machine and using it so as to gain their own economic emancipation. This can be done only by themselves, and the struggle in which they must take part to secure this is a class war—the working class against the employing class.

The basis of a Socialist Party in any country must, therefore, be a recognition of the fact that the material interests of the working class are in entire opposition to those of the employing class, that is, the recognition of the class

war. Any party which declares that no class war exists rules itself, by virtue of that declaration, out of court as a Socialist party. It is, necessary, therefore, in forming and organising a Socialist party to have a clearly defined class war basis, and in every action of the party to always keep the class-conscious character of the party clearly to the front. Any action tending to obscure this position, any position keeping the class struggle in the background, is a virtual betrayal of Socialist principles, serving only to confuse the issues in the minds of the workers and to make it more difficult for them to understand their class position and the reasons for it, and to see the road which must be followed if they are to achieve their emancipation—serving only, in brief, to retard the development of their class consciousness.

Any alliance, either permanent or temporary, with a party which does not recognise the class war is therefore out of the question. For does not every such alliance, whether openly avowed or tacitly understood, make less clear the class opposition which exists between the various political parties? How can we claim to be essentially distinct and, in fact, diametrically opposed to all other political parties, if we can find sufficient common objects to make possible any common ground of working? We think that the teaching of our principles is hindered by every such concession to the anti-class war parties, and is, therefore, opposed to the true interests of Socialism. We, therefore, avow ourselves in hostility to all other political parties, and can have nothing in common with them.

And this has been the experience of the Socialist parties of other countries. Wherever those parties have maintained an attitude of open hostility to all other political parties they are strongly organised. Whenever any of those parties, strong or weak, have formed temporary alliances, as they did, for instance, in Belgium, with the Liberal Party, for the purpose of securing universal suffrage, they lost strength, and remain as far from securing their desired reform as ever they were. This, then, is our first objection that such action confuses the issues and hinders our success.

Our next objection lies in the fact that any such dependence upon other political parties for their assistance assumes the maintenance of a majority of members on our legislative bodies who are not class-conscious representatives of the working class. So long as that remains the case, so long will the legislature be controlled by middle class men, by capitalists. Every such capitalistically controlled legislature secures the control of the administrative and judicial functions by the capitalists.

The result of this is that every measure carried through Parliament is carried through by those whose position makes it necessary that these enactments should be piecemeal and ineffective. They will, therefore, endeavour to reduce every concession to the point of impotency except in cases where they think to maintain their power by greater concessions. In this latter case they know they can depend upon their second line of defence—the administration of those laws which will cause the laws to remain a dead letter.

We have only to study the legislation of the last half of the nineteenth century to find that each of those phases of the economic legislation of the middle class parties plentifully exist. We find that the administration of the law being in the hands of the capitalist class, will be carried on by them in such a way as not to be dangerous to their own class interests.

Any "blue-book" dealing with any phase of working class life, will show instances innumerable of the neglect of the Local Government Board, or of the Borough Councils, or of the County Councils, in applying the laws already in existence. Housing Acts and Public Health Acts and Acts for the prevention of women returning to work at too early a period after child-birth, and Factory and Workshop Acts are not efficiently carried out, while powers vested in governing bodies are hardly ever exercised. Thus we read with regard to the pollution of the atmosphere by smoke, that:

"There are people in Manchester who systematically pollute the air and pay the fine, finding it much cheaper to do so than to

put up new plant. The trial of such cases before benches of magistrates composed of manufacturers, or their friends, creates an atmosphere of sympathy for the accused, and it was alleged that magistrates who had sought to give effect to the law encountered the indifference and sometimes the positive opposition of their colleagues."

Just so! And this is only one case which may be cited from among innumerable others which lie before us.

We have to point out further that sometimes it happens that a reform asked for by the working class can be granted them without any serious danger to the capitalist class. In such cases they make great concessions and the working class are usually called upon to hail the party granting such a "concession" as their truest friends.

Another case is that sometimes a measure is passed which, while benefiting certain individual workers, proves disastrous to another and larger section. Such was, for example, the Workmen's Compensation Act. This Act was passed to benefit those workers in certain selected industries who met with accidents while in the performance of their duties. It is to be observed that the Act was again the minimum of possible concession. It benefited those workers who in consequence of meeting with accidents which disabled them, received compensation when, before the passing of the Act, they would have obtained nothing. But while they were benefited, a larger section of the working class were affected to their detriment. The employing class over on the watch where their class interests are concerned, immediately claimed that the old men they employed, the men over a certain age, who were rendered infirm by the hard toil to which they had been subjected, were liable to more accidents than men in their earlier manhood, and that when they met with accidents, such accidents were more likely to prove serious or fatal than if they were younger. These men were in consequence immediately discharged. And what has happened since? A committee, on which was Mr. George N. Barnes, of the A.S.F., has reported:

"That with reference to the employment of aged, infirm, or maimed persons, amendments should be made to enable the employer to offer work to such persons, without incurring undue risk of paying compensation."

We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the trying to secure measures for the palliation of the evils of the existing class-governed society is useless. The men in control of the legislative, administrative, and judicial machinery of the community can always dodge any such partial attacks upon their position, can always find loopholes to escape from any concession appearing to endanger their position.

The only thing which will secure the alleviation of our misery and our wage slavery is the propagation of the principles of Socialism and the building up of a class-conscious Socialist party, prepared to wrest at the earliest possible moment the whole powers of government from the hands of those who at present control them.

When a strong Socialist party, fighting directly for the establishment of a Socialist regime, and prepared in their progress to secure any advantage which will act as a new vantage ground in their further fight is organised, then the capitalists will be only too ready to offer and to give each and all of those palliatives as a sop to the growing Socialist forces in the country.

We have, therefore, to recognise all the time that it is only possible to secure any real benefit for the people when the people themselves become class-conscious, when behind the Socialists in Parliament and on other bodies there stands a solid phalanx of men clear in their knowledge of Socialism and clear in their knowledge that the only way to secure the Socialist Commonwealth of the future is to depend only upon the efforts of themselves and those who have the same class-conscious opinions. Therefore we have no palliative programme. The only palliative we shall ever secure is the Socialist Society of the future gained by fighting uncompromisingly at all times and in every season.

A Look Round.

CHAMBERLAIN has evidently undermined the economic basis of the Shoreditch Branch of the S.D.F. The members have resolved:

"That, being cognisant of the great distress amongst our fellow-workers in London, owing to the inevitable depression in trade, we call upon the L.C.C. to have the building of the steamboats for the Thames traffic carried out as far as possible on the Thames, thereby alleviating to some extent the suffering of the workers of this great metropolis."

This contribution towards the solution of the unemployed problem will, doubtless, receive due consideration from the L.C.C. and the Tariff Reform League. For an alleged Socialist organisation to advocate Preferential Treatment or Protection in this manner, and to suggest dealing with the "inevitable" unemployed problem in one locality by creating or intensifying it in another, qualifies it for membership of the Capitalists' Kiddens' Conglomeration. We shall watch to see whether they join the Chamberlain or General Booth faction.

The *Clarion* and *Labour Leader* are concerned at the position of W. C. Steadman, an adopted candidate of the L.R.C., whom the *Daily News* announces as the Liberal candidate for Finsbury, which he certainly is, and who is reported to have urged the workers of Stepney to strike a blow at the Government by returning the Liberal candidate. But when has Steadman been anything but a decoy duck for the Liberal faction of the master class? Twelve months ago the *Tribune* (West Ham) contained a letter which had been sent to W. Thorne's Election Committee, part of which read as follows:—

"If members of the S.D.F. accept the aid of W. C. Steadman, who runs as a Liberal Labour candidate, then I consider they are morally bound to support Steadman's candidature if asked to do so. No class-conscious Socialist could do so, as only so recently as last September he was the chief speaker at a Liberal demonstration at Gray's, at which he is reported to have urged the audience to return a Liberal member at the next election. Socialists cannot logically support candidates who ally themselves with any section of the Capitalist Party, and, therefore, cannot honestly accept aid from them for Socialist candidates."

What do the *Labour Leader* and the *Clarion* expect? "Can the leopard change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin?"

According to the *Daily Express*, it is an unpleasant and appalling fact that lunacy is steadily increasing in England and Wales, and it is startling to find that whereas one person in every 327 was certified as insane in 1894, the figures for 1904 are one in 288. But to the Socialist there is nothing startling in the fact. As the struggle for existence becomes more intense, as we speed up, as the raging, tearing, hurrying and scurrying possess us, and as the position of the worker becomes more precarious, we must expect that the mental equilibrium will be disturbed. The returns show that the numbers of insane known to the Commissioners have for some time past been increasing at a greater rate than the growth of population. While the rate of increase in the population during the last decade was 12.2 per cent., the rate of increase of the insane was 24.4 per cent.

Those fanatical teetotallers who declare that it is only necessary to close public-houses in order to empty our lunatic asylums, should ponder over the fact that the Commissioners certify that alcoholic intemperance is responsible for not more than 22.8 per cent. of insane males and 9.5 per cent. of insane females. We

have no desire to minimise the effect of these figures, but it must not be forgotten that in many cases where intemperance is certified as a cause, it is itself an effect of the overcrowding, insanitary, ill-ventilated, and generally unhealthy conditions under which the workers work and exist. Dr. David Walsh, in his paper on "Unwholesome Workshops and Drink," declared that anything which weakened the health of the individual predisposed him to the use of alcohol, and no sensible person will dispute this. There is only one way by which the health of the people can be secured and maintained, and that is by the reorganisation of Society upon the basis laid down by the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

As Mr. Featherstone Asquith is now denying that he was responsible for the shooting of the miners, it will be useful for our propagandists to note the following reference to the matter which he made in his speech at Glasgow on the 17th October, 1893:

"The year that had gone by had been distinguished by a large number of deplorable industrial disputes. Those disputes had culminated in what had been a most serious and regrettable conflict—he alluded to the dispute between the coalmasters and colliers in the Midland parts of England. In his character as Secretary of State for the Home Department, it had been his duty to take executive action in more than one of those cases for the maintenance of the law and for the prevention of disorder, and he accepted the full responsibility for everything that had been done."

Asquith is a Liberal. So also are Bell, Crooks, Henderson, Shackleton, Steadman, and others receiving the support of the L.R.C. The I.L.P. openly supports the L.R.C., but the S.D.F. does not affiliate to it nationally, although it permits its prominent members to attend the Conference and be adopted as L.R.C. candidates. W. Thorne has not yet been called upon to resign his membership of the S.D.F. for having decided to run as a "Labour" candidate, although for the same backing-down A. E. Holmes was requested to send in his resignation. Moreover, since Thorne has fallen into line with the L.R.C., conditions, he has been publicly supported by Quelch, Jones, Hayday, and other well-known members of the S.D.F., at a demonstration at which he declared that:

"he believed the eight hours day was the most important of all questions."

For of such is the S.D.F.! Quelch and his friends support Thorne; he supports Alden, Crooks, Steadman, and Co.; Alden, Steadman, and Co. support Asquith and Co.; and E. Belfort Box writes letters, which are published in the Press, from the National Liberal Club! No wonder we are asked by a correspondent whether the S.D.F. still assert that there is no difference between Liberals and Tories, and whether we can explain what they mean by their continual references to "keeping free from entangling alliances?" We cannot: we give it up.

At the annual conference of the Sanitary Inspectors' Association held last month at Bournemouth, the President in his opening address, said that the Public Health Acts could not be administered in many places owing to the fact that the officers held their appointments from year to year, and were in consequence dependent upon the goodwill of individual members of the authority appointing them. What member of the association of some years' experience had not been covertly or openly threatened by some member or members of his authority, or by those aspiring to the office, for either attacking his insanitary property, seizing his unsound—or sampling his adulterated—food? Quite so, and so long as the governing institutions are controlled by the capitalist class, the legislation and administration will be in the interest of that class. And mere Labourism will not alter it. Many a "Labour" member makes the best possible supporter and defender of Capitalism and its works.

The capitalist press is filled with articles concerning the out-of-works, the homeless, free meals, and other pastimes to which the capitalist class devotes its attention when other things pall. There is no question about things being terribly bad, and that they have not yet touched bottom. In the business world there is a general complaint of slackness of trade and tightness of money—the latter being perennial with the wage-worker. Speaking for the Church Army last month, Mr. Colin F. Campbell told a *Daily Telegraph* representative that he shared the general opinion that the approaching winter was likely to be one of very great severity for the poorest of the poor. During the summer months their Labour Homes had been without exception full, and he had never known that to be the case during the 12 years he had been there. There were more of the better class of people asking help than there had ever been. Canon Scott Holland, preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral on September 11th, gave the following word-picture of London to-day:

"Look at London to-day! Sum up its story! It's poverty! It's nakedness! It's suffering! There it all waters! Can we not go closer down into it? Can we not fling into it our reason, our imagination, our conscience—so that we actually see what the unhappy see, and feel what the wronged feel, and burn with their indignation, and pray with their prayers? This is not done—not done even so much as it was done. There is a slackening of social interest—a deadening of social reform. People do not care as they did. There is no movement. Everything that we hoped for is caught in some dismal backwater. Yet the poor babies still die in their hundreds, simply through the murderous infamy of the conditions into which they are born. And the sweated women still toil from morning to night for a starvation wage, as literally, as intolerably, as ever! And the aged poor are more than ever left behind out of the marching hosts. And the weak invalids are still squeezed down to the level of the criminals and the loafers. We should never let such things be if we really identified ourselves with those who suffer under them—if we took their sorrows as our sorrow—if we were made one with their need."

Such is the picture, not overdrawn in the slightest detail. Cynics will note that it has been drawn in the chief institution of the Christian Church, that class organisation which has so ably assisted the capitalists in their efforts to keep the people down. And what is said here of London can be said of every large and wealthy city throughout the world. It is Hell! After two thousand years of Christianity, after centuries of middle-class domination, after years of Tory and Liberal Government, London is Hell! And no matter where we turn, one problem forces itself upon us and demands solution. In Monarchic Britain, in Kaiser-inflicted Germany, in Republican France, in Free America, in Despotie Russia, it is Hell for the proletariat. The problem of world-wide poverty in the midst of plenty will never be solved by sermons, prayers, Labour Homes, or Labour Leaders. It will only be solved when the people assume the ownership and control of the means of life, and produce for their own use instead of for idlers. To prepare the proletariat for this complete revolution is the mission of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.—K.

A New York cable states: "A law which comes into operation to-day (Sept. 1st, 1904), makes it bribery for an employer to pay money to a labour leader to avert a strike. Hitherto blackmail of this kind has been exceedingly common."

LITERATURE AGENCY.

Branches and members should purchase their literature through the Party Agent, F. C. Watts, 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, London, W. Write for particulars as to terms, etc.

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

The class meets weekly and is free to all. On application to J. Fitzgerald, 34, Wilton Square, London, W., full particulars will be sent.

"Fire Out the Feels."

SOME years ago, when it was thought by many Socialists that West Ham was about to become in England what Roubaix was then in France—a town whose municipal government was to be controlled by Socialists—it was not anticipated, save by the clearest sighted amongst us, that the tactics then adopted, were to prove so disastrous as they have done to the propagation of our principles.

At that time the branches of the I.L.P. and S.D.F. were strong in numbers and full of enthusiasm. But in order to snatch a political victory it was decided to form a Socialist-Labor party, to be called the Labour Group, and to include so-called Labour members and Radicals who were in sympathy with the "aims of Labour." This move was apparently successful in so far as it gave the Socialist Labour Party a majority on the Town Council, and was successful as long as nothing was attempted with which the non-Socialist section of the party could not agree, but immediately a move was made in a Collectivist direction it was found that the non-Socialists could not be relied on. The consequence was practically the failure of the party to make more than a halting step or so, and very small steps at that, toward the Socialist goal.

This is ancient history for the older men in the movement, but it is worth repeating in order to emphasise what follows, and to prevent a possible repetition of a similar mistake in any other town or district where we may be making headway.

It is now admitted that this was an error of judgment, but it was a mistake that should not have been made if the S.D.F. and I.L.P. members had had a clear understanding of Socialist policy. "He that is not with us is against us," whether he be avowedly Capitalist or alleged Labour. I say, one such mistake in tactics on the part of any local body of Socialists may be forgiven, but a repetition of the error is a crime against the movement. And this is what we are faced with to-day in West Ham. There is the same aspiration abroad now as there was then. The aspiration is, perhaps, not yet avowed, but it is expressed in action. The local S.D.F. Councillors, who lead the remainder of the members, are anxious once again to form a composite Socialist-Labor nondescript party, which they hope will be strong enough to form a majority of the Council. These men are supporting Alderman White, a Liberal Passive-Resister, who is a candidate at the forthcoming municipal elections, because, forsooth, "he is in sympathy with Labour."

The result of the first mistake was a great set back to Socialist propaganda in West Ham. A second such error would have disastrous effects were it not for the existence of a branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, who will keep the position clearly before the people, and publicly expose those who would mislead them. Such tactics undoubtedly cause confusion in the minds of the workers. They are not all heaven born politicians and wirepullers like the S.D.F. members of the West Ham Town Council.

Mr. Will Thorne, of the S.D.F., who was to have been the Socialist Parliamentary candidate for South West Ham at the next General Election, is now, we are informed, to run as the Labour candidate under the auspices of the Labour Representation Committee. Not that this makes much difference, for Thorne already had his hands firmly tied by his pledges to his union, the Catholics, and the Passive Resisters. So even if he understood what Socialism means—which he never did—and was elected—which is not probable—he would be so firmly bound by his pledges that he would not be able to act as an exponent of Socialism in the House. Our S.D.F. friends have not yet even learned that elementary political lesson for Socialists, viz., to keep free from entangling alliances.

One of the things which Socialists have so fiercely criticised and held up to public scorn,

TWO POINTS OF VIEW.

The extraordinary lack of apprehension by the superficially "educated" middle-class mind, even of a woman of genius in her own limited sphere, as compared with the depth of insight and forcible characterisation of a great scientific thinker informed by and applying the materialist philosophy is strikingly illustrated by the following extracts—

Sarah Bernhardt, according to the "Strand Magazine" for August, when contrasting her first impression of fashionable life in London with life in Paris, says:

"The carriage road between the riding track and the foot passengers was filled with dogcarts, open carriages of various kinds, mail coaches, and very smart cabs. There were powdered footmen, horses decorated with flowers, sportsmen driving ladies, too, driving admirable horses. All this elegance, this essence of luxury and this joy of life, brought back to my memory the vision of our Bois du Boulogne, so elegant and so animated a few years before, when Napoleon III. used to drive through in his carriage, nonchalant and smiling. Ah! how beautiful it was in those days—our Bois du Boulogne, with the officers carolling in the Avenue des Acacias, admired by our beautiful society women!

"The joy of life was everywhere—the love of Love enveloping life with infinite charm. I closed my eyes, and I felt a pang at my heart as the awful recollections of 1870 crowded to my brain. He was dead—our gentle Emperor with his shrewd smile; dead, vanquished by the sword, betrayed by Fortune, crushed with grief."

is the corruption which so often obtains on our public bodies, and notoriously so in West Ham. It is reported that a Local Government Board auditor stated that the West Ham Board of Guardians was the most corrupt board in the country. This, to those who know a little of these local governing bodies, may seem to be a rather "large order." But I think he was not very far from the mark. Whether that is so or not, it is absolutely necessary that Socialist representatives (they are not yet delegates, unfortunately) should keep their hands clean and be above suspicion. If not, how can they criticise and expose their opponents?

Now, the present "Socialist" representatives—with two notable exceptions—are not above reproach. Apart from accepting presents from contractors—which no Socialist should ever do—whether it influences his vote when tenders are before the Board or not, they have been parties to what is not at all an uncommon occurrence on this Board, namely, working their relatives into jobs or positions under the Board. They may say that a certain well-known, so-called Labour member has done this, and in so doing they are only following his lead. But our representatives are not on these administrative bodies to follow. They are there to initiate, and most certainly not to follow a lead of this kind. Nor are they there to hob-nob with officials, and to eat and drink at their expense. The excuse that other members do so is no excuse for Socialists, but—and the attention of the public should be drawn to this—it will explain why it is that the members are unable to deal with the officials in a suitable manner when any dereliction of duty takes place—and such cases are not uncommon—and why it is that the officials of the West Ham Board are the masters of the members instead of the members of the Board being the masters of the officials.

The result in West Ham of this political intriguing and these corrupt practices—though perhaps, not legally corrupt, they are from a Socialist point of view—has been to put back the clock for years, and although I am sure that a warning to keep clear of both these practices is unnecessary to members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, this article will have served a useful purpose if it opens the eyes of the members of the so-called Socialist organisations and the public to what to an unbiased observer appears to be trickery, which is not even successful trickery, and practices that cannot be condoned. H.G.H.

Karl Marx exposes the real Bonaparte (this "gentle Emperor") in the following characteristic and forcible passage in his work, "The Eighteenth Brumaire" (see p. 41):

"Along with ruined ruins of questionable means of support and questionable antecedents, along with the foul and adventure-seeking drags of the bourgeoisie, there were vagabonds, dismissed soldiers, discharged convicts, runaway galley slaves, sharpeners, jugglers, assassins, pickpockets, sleight-of-hand performers, gamblers, procurers, keepers of disorderly houses, porters, literati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, scoundrel grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, that whole undefined, dissolute, kicked-about mass that the Frenchman calls 'la Bête'." With this kindred element, Bonaparte formed the stock of the "Society of December 10," a "benevolent association," in so far as, like Bonaparte himself, all its members felt the need of being benevolent to themselves at the expense of the toiling nation. The Bonaparte, who here constitutes himself Chief of the *Class-Proletariat*, who only here finds again in phantoms form the interests which he personally pursues; who, in this refuge, off and wrook of all classes, recognises the only class upon which he can depend unconditionally—this is the real Bonaparte, the Bonaparte without qualification."

Correspondence.

(TO THE EDITORS.)

Dear Comrades.—The *Saturday Review* discussing the Amsterdam Congress and the relative merits of Bebel and Jaures, observes, amidst many other funny observations, that—

"The Socialism of the Fabians is the Socialism of Jaures, which is different from that of Keir Hardie who will not have anything to do with either Liberal or Tory." And, again, "Jaures ought to have nothing to do with the Congress, he is too clever and level-headed to keep company with the men who carried that resolution." (No India)

It may interest the *Saturday Review* reader to learn that Keir Hardie as President of the British Socialist Party voted with Jaures against Bebel, on the "Dreadnaught Resolution" and that the Resolution on "India" moved by S. G. Hobson (I.L.P.) and seconded by Dabbar Narooji (the Liberal candidate for North Lambeth) was carried amid the acclamations of Jaures and his party—The Parti Socialiste Français.

Truly, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing."—Yours fraternally,

ALEX. PEARSON.

Gravesend, Sept. 6, 1904.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. H. KENNEDY (Hford).—As we have no men of college education among our contributors, we cannot see why a college education should be necessary in order to understand what we write. Having something to say, we say it as clearly as we can. We assume that our readers possess a certain portion of cerebral tissue, and therefore do not undertake to provide them with powers of understanding.

H. KIRKPATRICK.—Thanks for suggestions, one of which you will observe has been adopted in this issue. The other matter is being considered.

S.W.T.L. (Peckham).—We have an article in hand dealing with the subject of your query. Clamour for what you want and you will get it when space and other things permit.

B. M. JONES.—Certainly not. The object of our journal is to expound the principles of Socialism. If you have any suggestions to offer which might enable us the better to carry out that object, by all means send them along. What you suggest is not Socialism.

J. SAMUELS (Stratford).—This is the inevitable outcome of supporting fakirs of any kind. We are watching the situation with interest, and shall act in the true interests of Social-Democracy. We refer you to our Branch Directory for the information you require.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

FROM OUR BRANCHES.

Reports from Branches for insertion under this heading must be in before the 20th of each month, otherwise they cannot appear.

BATTERSEA.

Sick and weary of the conflicting tactics and vacillating policy of the S.D.F., the members of this branch, some of them veterans in the Socialist movement, were among the first to come forward and raise the red flag from the mire through which it was being dragged, and are proud of having assisted in the formation of The Socialist Party of Great Britain, which now so worthily bears that flag aloft. To combat the confusing effects of the compromise and opportunism of the S.D.F. as well as the influence of that local Tammany Hall-like organisation of the "Statesman of Labour" and his "heelers," we have all through the summer conducted a vigorous campaign, holding three propaganda meetings every Sunday, besides the usual week night meetings. As a result we are able to report a gratifying increase in membership. In addition we have an Economic Class, meeting

on Thursdays, and a History Class, meeting on Fridays, both commencing at 8 p.m., to which all members of the party are heartily invited. The only condition of membership is regular attendance.

We of the Battersea branch fully realise that all our time and energies are required for the work of educating the workers to a clear conception of the causes of their misery, and of organising them so that they will concentrate all their efforts upon the capture of the political machine which is held and used by the master class as an instrument of oppression and exploitation. We have no time, therefore, to waste in appeals to the capitalist class for measures of reform, because we know that nothing short of complete economic freedom, and nothing short of the overthrow of capitalism, will put an end to the system under which the robbery and oppression of the worker goes on.

No, comrades, what we want the oppressor will never give. The workers themselves must achieve their emancipation. "He who would be free must himself strike the blow." It is our part to show the worker how the blow must be struck.

We echo the cry of our comrade Lehané. The watchword is Onward! to the Socialist Republic. —THE MAN WITH THE RED FLAG.

EAST LONDON.

This branch is not very large in numbers, but we try to make up by energy what we lack in that respect. The district we are working in, perhaps, the most poverty-stricken in the metropolis, and should by a lot of hard work and well organised, offer good ground to spread the seed of Socialism and build up a strong branch of The Socialist Party.

The far eastern portion, viz., Poplar, Bromley, Stepney, is the hot-bed of the alleged Labour leader, who, so far as possible, does everything to confuse the minds of the working class as to their correct position, and as a consequence the working class are apathetic and indifferent regarding their social welfare.

The work of this branch is to give a clear exposition of the conflict of interests between the working class and the master class, which in this district is made most intensely manifest, to arouse that enthusiasm which arises from class consciousness, and to organise the workers into The Socialist Party determined to wage war against Capitalism and all its supporters, with the ultimate object of securing its complete overthrow.—W.W.

EDMONTON.

ONE of our most successful meetings was held on Sept. 4, addressed by Comrade Lehané. I mention it particularly because at that meeting we introduced THE SOCIALIST STANDARD and sold it in large numbers, because the current issue of *Justice* had a reference to us in which the comic element strove in vain to outdo the false, but which our comrade, a comparative stranger to the local circumstances, was easily able to thoroughly discredit; and also because as a result of the foregoing, the meeting was made the occasion of those silly S.D.F. attacks we had hoped were things of the past. We realise that for some time to come considerable clearing away of misconceptions will be necessary before the Socialist party shall reap the full reward of its labour.—A. ANDERSON.

FULHAM.

DESPITE the fact that we have had to open up a station for our open-air work, our propaganda meetings have been well attended; the number of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD we have been able to dispose of being very good, considering the disadvantages under which we have laboured. Judged by the character of the questions we are called upon to answer, especially in regard to alleged labour and semi-Socialist bodies, our work is beginning to tell, and there is every possibility of our numerical strength, small though it is at present, being considerably augmented in the near future. If all good Socialists, attached or unattached, would but appreciate the importance of being associated with an organisation such as ours, based as it is upon sound principles, and pursuing as it does a straight and clearly defined policy, how much more effectively would we be able to accomplish the work we are called upon to do in this district! However, we have made a commencement, and are on the way to overtake, perhaps to beat even, the Islington record.

We are endeavouring to have a series of meetings at Fulham Cross on Thursday evenings at 8.30, and if any speaker happens along that way we shall be pleased to greet him and utilise his services.—E. J. B. ALLEN, Sec.

ISLINGTON.

THE Comrades of "Merrie Islington" are certainly justifying their existence as a branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and can, without undue egotism, look back upon a month's hard propaganda and feel highly satisfied with the results thereof.

Our morning meeting of Sunday, September 4th, in Finsbury Park, established, I believe, a record for the party. A large audience listened while Comrade Lehané stated the case for Socialism as the only solution for the many evils and problems that exist around us, and at the close of the address subscribed 15s. 4½d. to our war chest, besides purchasing 8 pamphlets and 69 copies of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD. The rest of our Sunday meetings, although not quite such financial successes, have resulted in good sales of literature. Plenty of questions are always

forthcoming, and are always satisfactorily dealt with.

Wednesday evening meetings at Highbury Corner are also making good progress, in fact, the encouraging feature of all our meetings is the increasing number of men who stay through-out, buying our pamphlets and putting questions, while in the result some have reached that stage where they deem it to be their duty to join us and help in the fight.

All things considered, we are going strong. Since our formation we have had the best mass meeting, the best ordinary propaganda meeting, our list of guarantees for the Press Fund is the highest, we have accounted for 247 copies of the paper, and we believe that by the end of the season our number of recruits will be the greatest of all the branches. To put it briefly, the Islington Branch of the S.P.G.B. promises to be the "greatest thing on earth."

A. E. DOWDESWELL, Branch Reporter.

PECKHAM.

I CAN with pleasure review the work put in by our members during the last month. We have good branch meetings and members turn up well at our propaganda meetings. On Peckham Rye on Sundays it is sometimes difficult to get a meeting at first; but we always succeed eventually. Take last Sunday as an instance: E. J. B. Allen gave an effective lecture; he was followed by H. Martin and H. Belsey. The audience showing no inclination to disperse Allen continued and finished up. Some good spade work by means of impromptu discussion followed; by this means new members have been made.

I should like to call the attention of all comrades to our Friday evening discussions, which take place at our branch rooms, 33, High Street. We promise all comrades and friends who attend these discussions an enjoyable evening; like Oliver Twist, they will want more.

We have been pushing THE SOCIALIST STANDARD well, and have already sold over 200 copies, and if we do not sell out our stock it will not be our fault.—W. ROSSER.

WATFORD.

A MONTH of plodding endeavour, with good meetings every Sunday—good in point of attendance, good in point of literature sales, with good speakers stating the case for inadjectival Socialism so clearly that a wayfaring man though a fool could not make a mistake as to the issues.

As well as may be, we are doing the work the Socialist is called upon to do—the preliminary spade work necessary to the organisation of a class conscious working class party—and doing it in face of the added difficulties that the existence of a perfect shoal of peddling reform parties—born of the ill-informed and misdirected exuberance of a few local reformers—inevitably create.

For a comparatively small town the number of these parties is, to put it mildly, abnormal, and it is no great wonder that, with so much to distract and divert their attention from the consideration of the real problem underlying their condition, the workers should not readily appreciate their class standing and the necessity for organisation upon the basis of the class struggle as the indispensable condition of successful conflict with capitalism.

If our ardent local new-party mongers (a brand new reforming body is turned out about every month) would but stop to think sometimes, they might be able to understand that every one of the insignificant and ludicrous little parties is simply a further factor making for working class confusion—simply one more division of the available working class intelligence that might otherwise be focussed upon first causes of, and real remedies for, working class ills; one more obstacle that will have to be overcome before Labour can enter into its own.

What the workers of Watford and elsewhere want is a straight lead upon a clear issue, and it is precisely because they have never had the one given them, and the other kept plainly before them; it is precisely because they have been led to follow the fantasy of reform, and have found themselves at the end of their journey in very much the position they formerly occupied, that they to-day are sullen, disconso-

The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

CENTRAL OFFICE:
COMMUNIST CLUB,
107, CHARLOTTE ST., LONDON, W.
General Secretary C. LEHANE.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Sydney Hall, York Road, Battersea, S.W.
CENTRAL.—Business transacted every Saturday at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Finsbury Square, London, W. Membership in the Central Branch can be obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
CLERKENWELL.—Kate Hawkins, sec., 91, Cavendish Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C. Branch meets every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. at Secretary's address.
EAST LONDON (Central).—W. Woodhouse, Sec., 95, Kirby St., Poplar, E. Branch meets every Friday at the address given.
EDMONTON.—A. Jacobs, Secretary, 25, Oxford Rd., Lower Edmonton, N. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.
FULHAM.—E. J. B. Allen, Secretary, 40, Mablethorpe Rd., Fulham Cross, S.W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.
ISLINGTON.—J. McNicol, Secretary, 179, Isledon Rd., Finsbury Park, N. Branch meets every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. at the Co-operative Stores, 70, Grove Road, Holloway, N.
PADDINGTON.—F. C. Watts, Sec., 164, Ashmore Road, Paddington, W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at Oliver's Coffee Tavern (foot of Lock Bridge), Harrow Road.
PECKHAM.—W. Wiles, Secretary, 31, Ewalds Rd., Nether, S.E. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at 23, High St., Peckham, S.E.
SOUTHWARK.—S. Eden, Secretary, 68, Penrose St., Walworth. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. at the Café, Walworth.
TOOTING.—C. Goss, Secretary, 78, Balham Grove, Balham, S.W. Branch meets every alternate Tuesday, 8 p.m., at the "Nelson Coffee Tavern," 60, High St., Tooting.
WATFORD.—D. R. Newlands, Secretary, 8, Highfield Rd., Bushey, Herts. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m., 73, Harwood Rd., Watford. Economic Class every Sunday at 3 p.m.
WEST HAM.—G. J. Hodson, Secretary, "Kilnscott," Sidney Road, Forest Gate, E. Branch meets every alternate Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at the address given.
WOOD GREEN.—J. Crump, Secretary, 10, Stanley Villas, Westbury Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.

late, and recalcitrant.

And so the reformer must go into the category of working class enemies, and must be fought as strenuously as the hard-grained proletarian ignorance and apathy, the more so because he is the apathy producer, the ignorance perpetuator.—ALEC GRAY.

WEST HAM.

Going strong! Held meetings every Sunday night, with one exception (speaker disappointed) since last report. STANDARD and pamphlets selling well, latter a good sign. Assisted with meetings at Poplar and Ilford. At latter place the Romford Division Branch has been formed. We are now endeavouring to arrange a combined attack of the two branches (West Ham and Romford) upon the new town of East Ham, where a Socialist Party is urgently needed, the distress being very great. Unemployed demonstrations and deputations to the Council have already started. The numbers of the unemployed all over the area covered by the West Ham Union are already growing rapidly, so that they promise to be very large indeed as soon as winter sets in. I should not be surprised if the local administrative bodies do not find that they have a little more than they can handle when they attempt to deal with the "Unemployed question" this year.—G.H.

WOOD GREEN.

SINCE my last report, in addition to excellent meetings on Jolly Butchers' Hill, we have extended our activities to the West Green Corner of High Road, Tottenham. Our first meeting on this spot was held on Sunday evening, Sept. 4, and was certainly a success both from the standpoint of numbers and of interest, as shown by questions touching our principles. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD sold well. Meetings have been held every Sunday since with equal success, and in the very near future the Tottenham Branch of the party will surely be formed.—JOHN CRUMP.

LECTURE LIST, October, 1904.

BATTERSEA.—Prince of Wales Head, York Road, 11.30, Oct. 2, H. Nearman; Oct. 9, J. Fitzgerald; Oct. 16, J. Crump; Oct. 23, E. J. B. Allen; Oct. 30, H. Nearman.
Prince of Wales' Head, York Road, 6.30 p.m.: Oct. 2, H. Belsey; Oct. 9, J. Fitzgerald; Oct. 16, H. C. Phillips; Oct. 23, H. Belsey; Oct. 30, E. J. B. Allen.
BOW (E. LONDON).—Obelisk, Devon's Road, Poplar, 11.30: Oct. 2, W. Woodhouse; Oct. 9, C. Lehan; Oct. 16, W. Woodhouse; Oct. 23, Branch; Oct. 30, J. Fitzgerald.
EDMONTON.—The Green, 11.30, Oct. 2, T. A. Jackson; Oct. 9, A. Anderson; Oct. 16, J. Fitzgerald; Oct. 23, A. Anderson; Oct. 30, A. Jacobs.
Angel Road, 7, Oct. 2, C. Lehan; Oct. 9, H. Belsey; 16, J. Fitzgerald; 23, R. Elrick; Oct. 30, A. Anderson.
FINSBURY PARK (ISLINGTON).—Finsbury Park, 11.30, Oct. 2, C. Lehan; Oct. 9, Branch; Oct. 16, H. J. Hawkins; Oct. 23, F. C. Watts; Oct. 30, H. Belsey.
Finsbury Park, 8, Oct. 2, R. Kenny; Oct. 9, H. J. Hawkins; Oct. 16, F. Leigh; Oct. 23, A. Aldbery; Oct. 30, T. Allen.
FULHAM.—Waterford Road, 11.30, Oct. 2, E. J. B. Allen; Oct. 9, H. Nearman; Oct. 16, H. Belsey; Oct. 23, T. A. Jackson; Oct. 30, J. Crump.
HIGHBURY (ISLINGTON).—Highbury Corner. Every Wednesday at 8.30, C. Lehan, R. Elrick, J. Fitzgerald, and others.
MILE END (E. LONDON).—Mile End Waste, 7, Oct. 2, T. Allen; Oct. 9, W. Woodhouse; Oct. 16, R. Todd; Oct. 23, W. Woodhouse; Oct. 30, R. Todd.
PADDINGTON.—Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, 11.30, Oct. 2, F. C. Watts; Oct. 9, T. Allen; Oct. 16, E. J. B. Allen; Oct. 23, H. J. Hawkins; Oct. 30, J. Richmond.
PECKHAM.—Peckham Rye, 6.30, Oct. 2, A. Aldbery; Oct. 9, E. J. B. Allen; Oct. 16, F. C. Watts; Oct. 23, H. C. Phillips; Oct. 30, C. Lehan.
REGENT'S PARK.—Regent's Park, 11.30, Oct. 2, H. J. Hawkins; Oct. 9, F. C. Watts; Oct. 16, F. Leigh; Oct. 23, J. Richmond; Oct. 30, T. Allen.
SOUTHWARK.—Kennington Triangle, 11.30, Oct. 2, H. Belsey; Oct. 9, A. Aldbery; Oct. 16, H. Nearman; Oct. 23, H. Belsey; Oct. 30, C. Lehan.
TOOTING.—Gathon Road, 11.30, Oct. 2, J. Crump; Oct. 9, H. Belsey; Oct. 16, A. Aldbery; Oct. 23, J. Fitzgerald; Oct. 30, F. C. Watts.
Tooting Broadway, 6.30, Oct. 2, A. Anderson; Oct. 9, F. Leigh; Oct. 16, H. Belsey; Oct. 23, J. Fitzgerald; Oct. 30, T. A. Jackson.
Tooting Broadway, Wednesdays, 8 p.m., Branch.
TOTTENHAM.—West Green Corner, 7, Oct. 2, T. A. Jackson; Oct. 9, A. Anderson; Oct. 16, C. Lehan; Oct. 23, R. Kenny; Oct. 30, F. Leigh.
WATFORD.—Market Place, 7, Oct. 2, J. Fitzgerald; Oct. 9, F. C. Watts; 16, T. Allen; Oct. 23, C. Lehan; Oct. 30, H. J. Hawkins.
WEST HAM.—Wanstead Park Station, 7, Oct. 2, Branch; Oct. 9, C. Lehan; Oct. 16, Branch; Oct. 23, A. Anderson; Oct. 30, J. Fitzgerald.
WOOD GREEN.—Jolly Butchers' Hill, 11.30, Oct. 2, T. Jacobs; Oct. 9, H. J. Hawkins; Oct. 16, R. Kenny; Oct. 23, J. Crump; Oct. 30, T. A. Jackson.
All Communications to
A. C. DOWDESWELL,
44, Howland St.,
Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

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of
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THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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LONDON, NOVEMBER, 1904.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

A LOOK ROUND

THE article upon the "Futility of Reform," which occupied the leader columns of our last issue, has not met with the complete approval of all our readers, and several have expressed their disagreement with our contention that the capitalist class will introduce reforms when the exigencies of commercialism demand them. But we would recommend our critics to read the correspondence which has passed between Kenric B. Murray, writing on behalf of the manufacturers' section of the London Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Education. If a word to the wise is sufficient, then those who possess the necessary wisdom will appreciate the position of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

In his letter Mr. Murray states that the manufacturers have passed the following resolution:—

"That, in order to retain our industrial position and to introduce into this country such further industries as may be profitably developed, this section is of opinion that it is absolutely necessary to raise the standard, and, if possible, cheapen the cost of technical and higher technical education, and that representations be made to the Board of Education in this sense."

Note, that the object in view is the "profitable" development of industries, not the education of workers for education's sake.

The letter further illustrates two points—the readiness when "profitable" to the capitalist class to invoke the aid of the State in industrial matters and the admission that British manufacturers have lost ground in the struggle for the World's Market, not simply because of fiscal conditions but because

"up to the present time manufacturers in this country have not in many cases sufficiently realised that there is a scientific aspect to every branch of manufacture requiring study and attention in order to attain the highest results."

If for "highest results" is substituted "greatest profits," one can easily understand why

"manufacturers, therefore, would welcome the support of the Board of Education and of the existing institutions engaged in teaching work in developing this valuable branch of education on lines which will place British manufacturers and their employees on an equality with their foreign competitors."

In the reply of the Board of Education present day capitalist methods are condemned:—

"The Board recognise the great advantage accruing from the concentration of interest, which is possible only when the student is in a position to make study his single aim—to devote his whole time to education."

It is of course possible that the student could do this under capitalism, but very improbable, except for the privileged few. Under Socialism it will be the rule.

Conferences may come and conferences may go, but the unemployed stay on for ever—as long as competition prevails. It was not to be expected that Mr. Walter Long, who draws £40 a week as salary for the services he is supposed to render the people, with the right to claim a pension when he loses his job, would consider that things were sufficiently serious to demand serious measures. The hardy annuals of relief works, afforestation, emigration, labour bureaux, "back to the land" via small holdings, and the like are being discussed. One of our correspondents somewhat sarcastically writes:—

"If the unemployed want to get 'back to the land' here are acres and acres out of cultivation needing their labour—only the owner may object. From where I sit I look over a large farm and see nothing but grass fields, and poor ones at that. In the foreground is a cottage where, if the inhabitants wish to descend to the kitchen, they can drop through the holes in the ceiling, and so save the wear and tear of a staircase! Yet the man ought to be contented. In a very good week he sometimes gets 17s.! Certainly often in winter he gets nothing, but he can save during the prosperity of summer! Besides, he has only seven children, and two of these (boys of 14 and 16) leave home at 5 a.m. and return at about 8 p.m., and get 4s. and 6s. a week. He ought to be a drunkard, but instead of that he is a teetotaler and very industrious, working hard all day, and at night returning to slave in his bit of garden which supports them occasionally in nothing-a-week times. He's going to be kicked out soon, and there's no house for him to go to, save a model dwelling at 6s. a week, his average wage being 12s. And then he'll lose his garden, too, but no compensation for him. Oh! the joys of a country life! Come back, my friends, to the land!"

When we go back it must be upon a basis not yet thought of by those who pose as "Social Reformers." Not to "labour at a loss for the profit of a boss" but to produce for ourselves the things which we need. "Advanced" politicians like Mr. George Lansbury (who left the Radicals to join the Social Democratic Federation), W. Crooks, and others have sent to the Press a "Note of Warning," in which they urge that whatever work is provided by municipalities for the unemployed it should not

"release workers from the stimulus of having to satisfy an employer." Send your victims to labour colonies, place over them some well-hardened taskmasters, credit them with 6d. per day, give them plenty of sermons and prayers, and all will be well.

The editor of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, who has for some months patted the S.D.F. on the back, because it has suited his purposes to do so,

writes the following respecting that body's "demand" for an autumn session:—

"It is equally comical to hear suggestions about an autumn session of Parliament to consider the question of the unemployed, coming, too, from Socialist organisations, who are always saying that Parliament is 'no good.' Such amateurish fooling makes one despair."

The annual report of the Asylums' Committee of the London County Council for the year ending 31st March last has just been issued and shows that there are 23,948 certified lunatics in London alone, an increase of 996 over last year. This is the largest annual increase ever recorded and, according to the report, the prospect of any diminution in the increase appears to be most problematical. The average weekly cost of each patient in London County Asylums is 11s. 4½d. If as much as that were spent each week in maintaining those out of asylums there would be less need to celebrate our "progress" periodically by providing further accommodation for our lunatics.

There exists in Holland a Union of Socialist Teachers, founded ten years ago. Its program states:—

"That the popular school, called into existence by the possessing class under the cry 'cultivation of the people by teaching the people,' has proved to be in their hands only the means of doling out to the children of the people that minimum of knowledge which has become necessary to supply the capitalist want of more or less educated labourers, besides being the means of impressing upon them so-called Christian and social virtues, which, in reality, are nothing but notions conducive to the maintenance of capitalism; that the non-possessing class, too, being insufficiently taught themselves, deprived of all influence on school education and therefore not inspired with genuine interest in it, see in the popular school only the way that enables their children to earn their bread afterwards; that, moreover—partly in consequence of the causes given above—all education which rises above the level of what capitalism demands, is doomed to sterility for the young proletariat because of the bad conditions."

That this is just as true of Britain as of Holland, or, for that matter, of every other country, is only another proof of the international character of the social problem. As the principles of the Union declare:

"The social vocation of the popular school is to educate the growing generation in such a way as to develop body and mind harmoniously," but "only the political and economic emancipation of the people will fully secure the emancipation of the mind."

Those who really desire that economic emancipation must enrol in the Army of International Socialism, the British Section of which is The Socialist Party of Great Britain. J. KAY.

AND we too love peace, but not the peace of slavery.—MARAT.

Women Workers in Japan.

(From *Le Socialiste*. Translated by P. J. Tobin.)

It is quite a common thing to ask Socialists: "Are you for Russia or Japan?" To this question, as to many others which usually crop up when two cut-throat thieves attack each other under our modern social system, we have only one reply: "Above all, we are for the proletariat of every country." This does not, however, prevent us from stating objectively in the case of the Russo-Japanese war, that the victory of the Japanese forces would mean as an inevitable consequence the political emancipation of Russia: its almost certain deliverance from the home enemy—we speak of Czarism, hangman, and knout-beater.

In the meantime, let us study the situation of those who interest us most in both countries—the proletariat. We begin with that of Japan, the least known and most exploited. Take, for instance, the Japanese working woman.

The development of the great industries has gone on increasing and aggravating the economic slavery of woman.

In modern Japan we find as many workwomen as workmen. The cotton spinning mills employ more women than men: in the mills of Kanegafendji, they number 2,700 as against 300 men; in those of Boseki, 3,000 against 500—that is, six, and even nine, women for every man. In the extensive Mourai tobacco factories of Kyoto, they are 2,500, forming five-sixths of the entire staff. The match industry employs almost exclusively women and children. Even in the Imperial Printing Works the women are much more numerous than the men.

Under the preceding social system they were put to work at the roughest employments. Today under the capitalist regime they are employed in the most trying industries.

In the linen spinning mills of Hokkaido they live during entire weeks at a time in a stuffy atmosphere. In the paper mills of Odji they carry heavy baskets, filled with stinking rags, into smoky rooms. At the mines of Muke they not only work at the surface, removing earth or dragging coal, but even in the very bottom: mothers often descending into the pits with children on their backs.

Capitalism in Japan gives a better example than in other countries of the tendency to replace male labour by female and child labour; a tendency so well analysed in the first volume of "Capital" by Marx. The proportion of women employed in the great industries, according to the statements of Wenlserse, continues on the increase, and we find it stated in the official report presented at the Chicago Exhibition that in the little town of Souva there are more than 40 silk manufacturing employing hundreds of women. The women earn more working in this manner than if they were employed as domestic servants. It is, moreover, very difficult to obtain them for domestic purposes anywhere in the neighbourhood of a factory.

In the cotton spinning mills the average proportion of women to men was in 1886 only two to one; in 1897 it had increased to more than three while to-day it has attained a figure of five, six, and even more.

The Japanese woman is considered much more able at certain work than the man. Wenlserse says that in the Imperial Printing Works women are employed in counting bank notes, in stippling sheets of stamps, and gumming the backs; and with what rapidity do they not make their fingers travel; how they run from one machine to another, making their wooden sandals clatter on the stone flags—quite little people, like white mice, in their great large linen robes!

The nimbleness of the tobacco factory girls is surprising. They wrap up as many as 100 packets of cigarettes in tin paper per hour—1,000 in a day. Those who fold up the large boxes are still more dexterous; the girls employed in the match factories paste 60 labels per minute on the little boxes, and continue thus for nine consecutive hours; while, in the

spinning mills, they re-knot the broken threads with a rapidity and daintiness not to be equaled by a man.

The reasons for which the capitalist in Japan prefers female to male labour are the same as in Europe. In the first place, the woman is docile, and in order to get her better under his thumb, he has her brought from the most distant provinces.

The poor country-people make scarcely any opposition to delivering up their daughters to the recruiting agents of the great manufacturers. In order to get the children and parents to make up their minds these agents have recourse to falsehood. Here is what Saito Kashi, an official employed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, says:—

"I have been speaking with an old workwoman in the cotton spinning mills of Kanegafendji at Tokio. She has told me that the company's agent said to her, before the engagement, that the work was very easy, the pay considerable, and that before settling down to her duties, she could visit all parts of Tokio, see the theatres, listen to the concerts, all that she wished; eating and drinking the best to be had in the finest restaurants."

As the greater part of these women are peasants, completely ignorant of the world and its ways, they easily consent to any proposals which will give them the pleasure of seeing the many novelties abounding in the great city. So off goes our little peasant girl without more ado. However, the day following her departure with the agent, she is limited to a plate of vegetables and rice both for breakfast and dinner; and all such expenses are put down to her, as also the cost of travelling. On arriving at Tokio she was certainly conducted to the principal places of interest in the town, not forgetting the restaurants, as had been promised, but everything was duly chalked down to her account. Not having sufficient money to defray those outlays, a certain proportion was each month deducted from her wages. Now, the work was hard and the wage small: 6d. per day. Consequently, she could not support this intolerable condition and left the factory one fine day on the pretext of taking a walk—such a trick being possible only in the most exceptional cases, while the swindle just recounted is quite the rule.

Women allow themselves to be very easily exploited by the employers; they are the complete dupes and victims of the capitalist system. Their most elementary interests demand that they should wake up to this fact and organise—in Japan as well as in Europe.

Moreover, female labour is preferred above all, for the reason that it is more profitable. Eleven hours of solid work per day is exacted and obtained from the Japanese workwomen—sometimes even eleven and a half. If an hour is granted to them during the day for eating, it is on condition that the machines are kept going; they must make an arrangement among themselves whereby they go to meals in such order that the factory always has its complement of workers. Sunday is unheard of; two days' rest only are allowed each month, and even such "days" consist of but a few hours. During the entire year they have scarcely five holidays, and those for the purpose of repairing—the machines, more precious to the capitalist than that other human machine which can always be readily replaced in the event of a breakdown!

No law has so far been passed on the limitation of the women's working hours; just as the men, they work night and day indifferently. Their wage is beneath contempt. In Japan we are still in the stages of "primitive accumulation" thus styled by Karl Marx, the Dante of the regime under which we live.

The more dexterous weavers of Osaka earn only about 10d. daily, which is the maximum, the minimum amounting to but 4½d. The women who gum the labels on matchboxes receive 3½d. in a working day. In the cotton spinning mills the adult women get from 6½d. to 1s., while where men and women are employed at the same work, the latter are paid from a third to a half less than the men.

How do those "galley slaves" of the Japanese factory bear such conditions of labour? It opens sometimes with an idyll such as would make the aesthetic Pierre Loti (author of "Madame Chrysanthemum") and his fair

readers rub their hands with joy, but it closes in quite another fashion—here is a picture: "The spectacle given in the port of Nagasaki is still more singular and interesting.

There you see the women coalporters with their sugar loaf hats of brown straw adorned with white and blue cambric, below which peeps out bunches of jet black hair. To see their sparkling eyes, their cheeks all rosy and tanned from the sun's rays, that air of sweetness spread over their features, is quite a pleasure. With what an unembarrassed step, without the impediment of skirts and not fearing to allow their legs to be seen, do they not carry the large bamboo cane to which are attached heavy black baskets.

They laugh, push, and tickle one another as they pass, and offer no objection whatever to being encircled round the waist by some young men working in the same gang. But these pretty white legs soon waver, and on the planks which stretch trembling from the quay to the ship, a little fright and very much fatigue close those lips in pain, which, but a short time since, expanded in a dazzling smile.

And all this for a few pence a day!

Among every eight Japanese workwomen we find one prostitute. Under the conditions which she lives her "erring sister" is not the least intelligent nor the most to complain. She is but a rebel anyhow, an escaped slave of the capitalist compound.

And this they call "Civilisation!"

Our article in our last issue on the situation in West Ham has already had some effect on the S.D.F. Executive Council, hence the following paragraph in *Justice* for October 22nd:—

"In West Ham they are by no means asleep, but are putting forward a strong list of candidates, with which they hope to do much to reconquer the position they held before the unholy 'Alliance' gained the sway. When next our comrades are in the ascendant there they will take care not to be hampered by any half-hearted, fair-weather adherent."

Will they? As the articles in the last and in this issue show, they are doing exactly the same thing as they did before, and with their eyes open.

In West Ham friends and enemies alike recognise that the formation of the "labour group" was a great mistake. We Socialists often say that the working man will exhaust the possibilities of error before he tries the Socialist road; but what can be said of men calling themselves Socialists who deliberately make the same error twice over? Either they are knowingly and of set purpose trying to give Socialism a set back in favour of "labourism," or they are a set of utter incompetents. The *Clarion* may have been right some years ago when they urged West Ham to "Fire out the fools" but in our opinion it would almost seem to be a case of "more knave than fool."

WAS THIS PROPHETIC.

Quoth he, "I am resolved to be Thy scholar in this mystery; And therefore first desire to know Some principles on which you go—What makes a knave a child of God And one of us?"—"A livelihood." "What renders beating out of brains, And murder, godliness?"—"Great gains." "What makes you encroach upon our trade And damn all others?"—"To be paid." "What makes all doctrines plain and clear?"—"About two hundred pounds a year." "And that which was proved true before, Prove false again?"—"Two hundred more." "And what makes breaking of all oaths, A holy duty?"—"Food and clothes." "What's orthodox and true believing Against a conscience?"—"A good living." From *Hudibras* by SAMUEL BUTLER, 1612-1680.

They shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat.—ISAIAH, LXV. 21, 22.

A FORECAST OF THE COMING REVOLUTION.

INTERVIEW WITH PAUL LAFARGUE.

Amongst the best known leaders of Socialist thought is our comrade Paul Lafargue, author of "The Evolution of Property," "Socialism and the Intellectuals," and many other volumes and pamphlets of great value to International Socialism. A visit to Paris brought us in touch with a French comrade, through whose kindly offices we received an invitation to visit the veteran Socialist author, agitator and parliamentary debater, at his pleasant retreat in a little village some dozen miles from the French capital. Lafargue and his wife (once known personally to English Socialists as Laura Marx) received us with the true comradeship, which in palpable form made it plain that "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," is no empty phrase amongst Socialists.

Mindful of the interests of the Party, we secured from our comrade the following interesting expression of his views upon some vital topics of the moment:

"The two countries which will benefit chiefly from the Russo-Japanese War," said Lafargue, in answer to a query, "are America and England. Though the Japs succeed in expelling Russia from Manchuria, they are at the same time weakening themselves for a long period, and thus limiting their capacity for industrial competition. Again, the financiers of England and America—principally the former—will draw from Japan a great deal even of such profit as may accrue to her in return for their present assistance. Japan has for years been developing extraordinarily, but the War hinders this. The resources she is squandering on war are lost to industry."

"And the results of all this upon our policy in the Far East, comrade?"

"The most important thing is the appearance of Japan upon the scene as the strong power of the East, so strong that no European country can compete with it. The rise of Japan marks the conclusion of European piracy in the Far East. Nobody expected such an extraordinary power. Further, Japan will organise China, industrially and politically."

"What is your view, comrade, of the industrial position in Japan?"

"The rise of Japan industrially has been so rapid that the horrors of child and female labour in the England of the early nineteenth century have been reproduced—with the great difference that the intermediate stages from the England of the fifteenth century were totally absent in Japan. The psychological difference is enormous, and must produce a revolt, but the form we cannot forecast. In England and France the revolt was against the machine, and whilst this may not prove so in Japan, this we know—the Japs start with a Socialist movement such as was not, and could not be, in England and France in the initial stages of Capitalism. Just as the Japs adopt and adapt the ready-made science of Europe, so the Social science of the New Age finds there a ready soil. We may expect the Japanese people, who have shown such extraordinary courage on the battlefield, to show in the Social struggle the same indomitable energy and enterprise."

"Now, as to the War again, comrade. What of its results upon Europe?"

"This war has shown that Russia has made a fool of Europe with a show of power. Particularly has Czarism befooled France. That show has enabled her to draw from France about eleven milliards of francs (some £400,000,000) by State loans and financial companies for the industrial exploitation of Russia. The latter investments have been chiefly for coal-mining and metal works. These found prosperity as long as the Russian State was a huge customer for railway construction, &c., but even before the War this fell off; and now, in so far as they have a revival, it is only the artificial stimulus of war time, which will have its due reaction. Even now the lack of money is strangling this revival. Either victory or defeat for Russia now means revolution—a bourgeois or constitutional revolution. The first thing that the new power will have to do will be to proclaim the bankruptcy of Russia—as the best means to again obtain credit. You

will recollect a similar process in the French Revolution. The new rulers of Russia will be the more ready to declare this bankruptcy, in that the losers will be, not the Russians but the French. The international effects will be felt primarily in France, where the chief debt of Russia is held. The fall of the present Russian political system will shake the whole fabric of European society."

"What is the likely effect upon Socialism in France of the loss of all this capital through the fraud and folly of the bourgeois politicians and the financial magnate who dominate them?"

"Ah, that is a question. Remember the fuss about Panama involving only 1½ milliards of francs. You will see why I anticipate great results from the loss of some eight times as much. Only the Socialist Party of France has opposed itself to the Franco-Russian Alliances and denounced it as a fraud upon the French people. The discrediting of all the bourgeois parties must mean the immense growth of the party of the Proletariat. Only the Socialist Party of France, the Revolutionists of France, had the courage and insight to oppose the alliance with despotism."

"Very good, comrade; so much for the economic factors. What of other forces?"

"Russia is a compound of different nationalities. In the centre the Slavs, surrounded by Poles, Finns, Caucasians, Armenians, &c., held down by main force. These will spring into position again on the occasion of the Revolution, and Poland principally (the Ireland of Russia), which has never lost the sense of nationality, despite the tyranny of centuries, will make her influence felt. She will want to reconstitute her nationality with the Austrian and the German Poles. Thus I believe that the next few years will bring us the European revolution, which, if Socialists are sufficiently bold and well organised, will mean also the Social revolution."

This concluded, as far as the War is concerned, one of the most instructive conversations in which I ever had the pleasure of participating. In a future issue I hope to reproduce some expressions of our comrade upon trade unionism, but with which it would be a pity to complicate this article. The difference between the Socialists and pseudo-Socialists can easily be seen by a comparison of the large-mindedness and grip of the situation disclosed by our comrade, with the puny reflection of Capitalist sentimentality exhibited by Jaures in dealing with this same position. The attitude of the Reformists in France sufficiently indicates the absurdity of the claim of such superficial politicians to in any sense represent Socialism either in France or elsewhere. Jaures and his school are straining every nerve in a "Stop the War" agitation, on the surface in the interests of peace, but in reality designed to, if possible, stave off the evil day of capitalist collapse. It was not for nothing that our comrades of the Socialist Party of France moved the resolution at the recent International Congress, which declared against compromise and intrigue with capitalist parties. The Socialists of France have fought and are fighting the same battle against treachery and folly of opportunism, which we of The Socialist Party of Great Britain are waging in this country.

I am sure every Socialist in England joins with us in reciprocating the fraternal greetings extended by Paul and Laura Lafargue to the unofficial representatives of British Socialism to whom this interview was accorded.

H. J. HAWKINS.

PARTY NOTES.

A MEMBER whose first name is Sydney, now rusticated in Hellingly, has been good enough to draw my attention to the discrepancy between the announcement, contained in the report of the Executive Committee published in the October issue, relating to the number of the Party speakers and the number actually contained in the Lecture List.

The report stated "The Party has at its disposal over 15 speakers," whereas my informant states he has counted the names appearing in Lecture List for October, and finds we have twenty-two "special speakers." Our comrade is nearly right. I have looked through the list in question, but can only discover 20 speakers.

In any case the number is "over 15," and the statement contained in the E.C. report absolutely correct. Were we to place on the list every member capable of holding forth from the platform we might perhaps muster 30 or 40 speakers, but it is better to under-estimate than to over state our strength. We have no desire to "bluff" anybody by presenting a magnified view of our forces. The Social Revolution cannot be accomplished in a day, and neither can the instrument of that revolution, The Socialist Party, be built up in a few months. Our speakers to-day are counted by tens and our supporters by hundreds, but to-morrow these numbers will be increased ten and a thousand fold.

The same correspondent makes a suggestion which may be found useful. This idea is that a good deal of expense would be saved if branch business meetings were, where possible, held in members' houses. Socialists at any time are not very great believers in rent, and with the approach of winter, branches having only a small membership could, with advantage, meet in a comrade's house.

The outdoor propaganda season is now over, but at the Party speaking stations operations will be continued as usual, as far as the weather will permit. During the winter of course many sources of income will be closed to the Branches, and consequently some of our comrades, particularly in the poorer districts of London, may experience some difficulty in maintaining their Branches in a sound condition, financially and otherwise.

These dangers will be minimised if our comrades everywhere make special efforts to push the Party literature. As a clean and clear exponent of Socialist Science, THE SOCIALIST STANDARD has no equal in Great Britain. The sale of our Organ during the winter months will keep alive the local interest, be a means of holding together and securing new members, a source of revenue to the Branches, and finally will prepare the ground for the opening of the spring campaign with renewed vigour.

Things are commencing to move down in Battersea, where our comrades have organised the sale of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD in a really creditable manner. The results achieved are of such an encouraging character that Peckham will soon have to look to its laurels. Hitherto, Peckham has been to the forefront as regards their supply of the Party Organ, but a stride or two more will give Battersea the lead.

In other directions, too, our Battersea comrades are giving evidence of their earnestness in the Cause, indicated in the announcement contained elsewhere in this issue. They have organised a series of indoor lectures, to be delivered in Sidney Hall at 7.30 p.m. every Sunday in November, when various aspects of the Movement will be treated by comrades Elrick, Kent, Watts, and Anderson. Comrades not on duty elsewhere will do well to attend these lectures.

Although our Paddington comrades appear to be quiescent, it would be a great mistake to suppose they are inactive. Since the General Meeting the Paddington Branch has enrolled more new members than any other Branch of the Party. What on earth is Islington doing? Day after day I am seized with great fear and trembling as I open despatches from the "Vale" containing the signed Declarations of new members. I fear and I tremble because with each upward motion of the Paddington membership barometer recedes the Islington promise to be the best Branch. If our northern comrades do not bestir themselves their Branch will indeed be the "greatest thing on earth"—except Paddington.

Comrades, everywhere, let us be up and doing. Let us pull steadily together. Let there be no resting on our tums, having conquered the adverse winds and the deceptive currents of Capitalism, our craft is safely anchored in the haven of the Socialist Republic. Comrades, everyone, pass the word along: Onward!

C. LEHANE.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

To facilitate the transaction of the business of the Editorial and Management Committee, appointed by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain to conduct its official Organ, members of the Party and other readers are particularly requested to address all literary communications to the *Editorial Committee*, 5, Arvon Road, Highbury, N., and all business correspondence to A. Anderson, 24, Belmont Avenue, Edmonton, N.

(Signed) C. LEHANE, Secretary,
Editorial and Management Committee.

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The Socialist Standard,

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1904.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Fontenelle has said that mankind must exhaust the possibilities of error before he can reach the true path. This maxim seems to be fully borne out by the events which have transpired in the political world during the past month. It is true that the capitalist machine at Westminster has for the present completed its "deliberations." The talking shop with its mockery of democratic legislation hiding the rule of the non-producer has closed. But the great organised hypocrisy of which Parliament and Parliamentary government is the chief political symbol is ever with us. Outside Parliament the agents of the great capitalist class are ever at work and of these agents the most powerful workers in the capitalist interest are those who, consciously or unconsciously, seek to lead the workers along non-Socialist lines. Socialism, which is the organisation of the industry of the country on a basis of common ownership and equitable distribution of industrial products, is the only remedy for the evils of present-day Society and therefore any man or section of men who pretend to show that something short of Socialism would prove a remedy thereby constitutes himself, consciously or unconsciously, an enemy of the working class.

The main question which has come prominently before the public during the past month has been the question of the unemployed. Now anyone who was unaccustomed to the practical politician and his powers of exhausting the possibilities of error would imagine that as a necessary preliminary to solving the problem of the unemployed must come an enquiry into the causes of unemployment. But not so the practical politician. He does not like exhaustive enquiries into causes. He likes to be practical, and being practical cannot search below the surface of the social phenomena immediately before his eyes. For him those causes which are obvious and on the surface are given forth as the real causes of unemployment. Our practical man knows someone who was discharged for his drinking habits, hence drunkenness must be the cause of unemployment. Another politician of the practical school sees cases of thriftlessness, of laziness among the working-class and knowing that the rich are never extravagant and never idle, predicates these characteristics also as causes of unemployment.

The political economist, the apologetic theorist of the capitalist regime rejecting those as true causes of unemployment, seeks them in the fact that we possess a gold standard of circulation, or that we have a system of free imports under which we pay 15s. per head of the population in import duties as opposed to an average of 8s. per head in countries with protective tariffs, or, like Mr. William Stanley Jevons, he sees in the periodicity of sunspots a relation to the periodicity of magnetic storms in the earth and through this to the periodicity of bad harvests and trade depressions. We have a maximum of sunspots every eleven years, a recurrence of magnetic storms about every eleven years, and trade depressions every decade. Hence sunspots are the cause of unemployment!

The Socialist opposes both the practical politician and the orthodox political economist and seeks for the causes of unemployment, not among the moral characteristics of man nor among the physical configurations of the Solar System, but among the economic conditions of production and distribution. The Socialist first looks to the earth as the primal repository of all potential wealth and asks if the earth can furnish sufficient raw material to satisfy all the material needs of man. The answer of the Socialist may be given in the words of Kropotkin in the July "Nineteenth Century and After":

"Mankind has reached a point where the means of satisfying its needs are in excess of the needs themselves. To impose, therefore, as has hitherto been done, the curse of misery and degradation upon vast divisions of mankind, in order to secure well-being for the few, is needed no more; well-being can be secured for all, without over-work for any."

Nature with the aid of man's labour is prolific in the supply of raw material which can be wrought into the means of satisfying man's wants. Men there are in abundance capable of turning this raw material into finished products. Labour there is in plenty to produce sufficient to supply the "effective demand." If this "effective demand" meant the sum total of the things required by human kind, existence of the unemployed would simply mean that man had limited demands and it only required the work of a limited number of people to produce the food, clothing, houses, &c. of all, and this could be dealt with by a reorganisation of industry, but the existence of the working-class unemployed means, however, under present conditions, the existence of hunger, of semi-starvation, of lack of the means of livelihood of the unemployed. In the midst of plenty they are devoid of the means of sustenance because they can find none to employ them.

We have then to seek in the process of converting raw material into manufactured products for the cause of the "industrial reserve army of the unemployed." In some phase of this conversion, in some period of manufacture, we must find the main cause of the throwing of men out of work; and to the Socialist this main cause is the introduction of the machine as the dominant factor in production. We who are Socialists are, of course, fully aware that the introduction of machinery with its potentialities of reduced labour time for those employed is an important stage in Social and industrial evolution. Under the control of those who use it, who work with its aid, it would have been followed by a continually diminishing working day, but owned and controlled by a few, by a small section of the community, it has been used as a factor in the oppressing and enslaving of men and has proved a curse.

The machine, produced by machinery, is ever

producing a greater and greater output with the aid of fewer and fewer men and, therefore, as we find' has been the case in the textile industries, there is at the end of every decade a smaller number of workers employed, and the number displaced is greatly augmented by the displacement of men's labour by that of women and children. We contend then, that so long as the machinery of production is owned by a class which uses the growing power of the machine to throw men out of work rather than to reduce the duration of the day's work, so long shall we have an unemployed problem.

It is true that many of those who have been displaced have been reabsorbed in the creation of luxuries and the satisfaction of the needs of the capitalist few. The production of luxuries has grown to an enormous extent during the last few decades, while the number of those who are engaged as domestic servants or who find a living in other ways, all having for their end the pleasures of the rich, has grown greatly. This process of the multiplication of workers performing comparatively useless functions has its limitations and when these limits have been reached there will exist no means of absorbing those thrown out of work by the development and speeding up of better machinery. We must, then, look forward in the near future to a constant increase in the number of the permanent unemployed.

What are we to think, then, of those who, knowing these things, are yet to be found in brotherly harmony with the capitalistic sections of the community seeking for means for dealing adequately with the unemployed problem and yet afraid to say that they think the only solution of the unemployed problem is to be found in the establishment of a Socialist system of society. This is what we find at the present moment. Men styling themselves Socialists, the members of a body claiming to be Socialist, are found to-day hobnobbing with men whose interests are essentially bound up in the maintenance of the present system of society which produces the unemployed, and putting forward as means for solving the unemployed problem, farm colonies and such like nostrums.

We refuse utterly to accept these men as true exponents of Socialist principles. Prating of the class-war, in which they say they believe, they yet are found in alliances with middle-class parties, thus placing themselves in opposition to the class-war. Bound by the Dresden Resolution, for which they voted at the last International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, and which protests against

"the substitution, for the conquest of political power by an unceasing attack on the bourgeoisie, of a policy of concession to the established order of society,"

they are among the first to make concessions to the established order of society by virtually admitting the non-Socialist, non-class-war principle that the unemployed problem can be solved within that capitalist system of society of which it is really the outcome.

We of the Socialist Party of Great Britain remain firm in our conviction that nothing but uncompromising propaganda of our principles and the political organisation of the masses upon a basis of uncompromising Socialism can do aught to solve the unemployed problem, or any other of the Social problems, engendered by the capitalist system. End the capitalist system. Establish a Socialist system in its stead, and we shall have once and for all laid the foundation of a regime in which the labour of all men and all women can be usefully employed during such limited time as may be determined by our needs, and then having no unemployed problem, we shall not have any of the evils, the miseries, and the degradation which spring from unemployment.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. GEORGE LANSBURY.

SIR.—On Sept. 13th last at Toynbee Hall you delivered an address on the question of the unemployed. At the conclusion of your address I expressed my opposition to the proposals suggested by you, but the time at my disposal was not sufficient to enable me to fully demonstrate that not only were your suggestions worthless but that the policy advocated would ultimately result in effects disastrous from the point of view of the organisation of the working-class.

The whole tone of your address was pessimistic. You commented on the ignorance, apathy, and indifference of the working-class. You even went so far as to express a feeling of being tired of talking to them, attending conferences to discuss questions, while at the same time the people outside those conferences gave no thought to their own condition. Unfortunately, a good many others by adopting the process of reasoning employed by you have also been made tired, and the wonder is that more have not grown weary and fallen by the wayside, taking into consideration the fact that the working-class has never been taught to act consistently and logically in the political field in accordance with their industrial and social position in society.

I have not space enough to enter into all the inconsistencies and contradictions to which you gave utterance on that occasion; but certainly some of your observations if pursued to their logical conclusion, would place you in a position far different from that which you occupy at the present time. For instance, you stated in relation to the problem of working-class unemployment, that if anything is to be done only the workers themselves can do it. Assuming you mean that whatever action they take should be political, I cannot but agree with you. Where, however, you did not express yourself clearly, and where we differ is that any effort, either for the immediate alleviation of suffering and distress arising out of the present constitution of society, or in the direction of the total abolition of these evils, must be the conscious action of those who are suffering, viz., the working-class.

Posing as a Socialist as you do, you are of necessity forced to fall back on the Marxian explanation of the cause of unemployment. This you substantially did by showing that the application of science to production, the invention, development and speeding up of machinery, used for the sole purpose of creating profits for the possessing class, must inevitably result in the displacement of hand labour and the throwing on the labour market of increasing numbers of unemployed workers. You further pointed out that the evil of unemployment, arising as a consequence of this process, is growing to such an extent that thousands of workmen are forced to eke a precarious existence by either cadging or living on their friends, a condition in which they lose their manhood and drift into mental and moral degeneracy. In all this I am in agreement with you, and could, if space permitted, go further into this aspect of the Social question; but, Sir, what I wish to call your attention to is the fundamental constitution of society itself, and to indicate how all efforts at changing the effects of a system must be abortive as long as the system itself remains unaltered.

Throughout civilisation to-day, notwithstanding national and political differences, the basis of the social system in every country, be it a republic or a limited or unlimited monarchy, is the ownership by a class of the means whereby the people live. As long as class ownership exists the people will be confronted not only with the unemployed problem but with the thousand-and-one evils that afflict the social existence of the working-class at the present time.

While the workers possess nothing but their physical and mental energy; while that energy is bought and sold in the Labour Market, subject to laws which dominate alike the capitalist and the worker; while the operation of these laws involves a continual decline in wages, the price of labour power, so long will the

working-class suffer from poverty accentuated at intervals by sickness and unemployment. The Capitalist form of society, that is, Capitalism, does and can only exist to the detriment, degradation, and demoralisation of the working-class. The capitalist-class has its representatives in the Government, local and national, and uses the legislative and administrative boards as pliant tools for the protection and promotion of its class interests, for the maintenance and extension of class domination, and for the further robbery and enslavement of the working-class. If, then, this is the economic function and political role of the capitalist class, what have the workers to expect from the present-day rulers of society?

You, Sir, and those who think with you, in directing the attention of the working-class to the political representatives of the master-class for relief from the misery which is crushing them, in holding out to them the prospect or possibility of amelioration through the good grace of the ruling faction, are incurring a serious responsibility. Promising the working-class something that must inevitably fail is the fruitful source of that apathy and indifference in which the workers are sunk to-day; telling the workers they have gained victory when it is only a victory for the capitalist-class, entrenches the ignorance of which you complain; and calling upon the capitalist governments to undermine their own position, which must be the case if any measure of material value to the working-class is put into operation, creates that pessimism in the minds of the workers that you so much deplore.

Now, Sir, The Socialist Party, of which by the way you are not a member although calling yourself a Socialist, exists to teach the workers their true position in society, and to create the political weapon whereby alone that position can be altered. The mission of The Socialist Party is to show the workers that Capitalism lives on their wretchedness and prostitution, and that, if their emancipation is to be accomplished, they must adopt a political attitude necessarily hostile to all other political parties. Outside The Socialist Party, the Party of unqualified Socialism, the Party of the Working-Class, all other political parties uphold and safeguard the interests of the capitalist-class and the continuance of the wage system which is responsible for not only the unemployed but the other evils that afflict society. The Socialist Party is the political expression of the material interests of the working-class for whom there can be only one policy and one programme, that is the control through public ownership of the tools and machinery for producing the necessities and comforts of life, to be achieved by the political action of the working-class, cognisant of the causes of its suffering and wretchedness and conscious of its material interest and historic mission.

The time is fast approaching when the working-class of Great Britain will recognise the value of the political machine as an instrument of offence and defence in class warfare, and when that time arrives the working-class will use that weapon conscious of its power and conscious of its use. The working-class will no longer be humbugged as The Socialist Party is spreading the enlightenment which will dispel the confusion existing in the minds of the workers, and its fearless advocacy of the cause of the disinherited will succeed in stimulating the intelligence and arousing the enthusiasm of those who are apathetic and indifferent to-day. Any other policy, that, for instance, pursued by you, can have only one result, the division of the working-class into two sections, one of which, like yourself, saturated with pessimism, is driven into the camp of Liberal reaction, and the other possessing only an inkling of the truth, gravitates in the direction of anarchism, a result in either case disastrous to the organisation of the working-class.

In conclusion, Sir, let me say that I give you credit for being honest, an opinion which I would hesitate to express regarding most men known as "Labour Leaders." But honesty without correct thinking, is of no use to the working-class, and if you can see no policy other than that which you are advocating at the present time, I say in all sincerity, lay down your arms, and acknowledge defeat, for in my hum-

ble opinion you will be doing more good by remaining silent than by carrying on the conflicting and confusing propaganda instanced by your discourse of 13th September.

I am, Sir,

WILLIAM WOODHOUSE.

East London.

Since writing the above I have seen the report of the conference held with Mr. Walter Long, from which, as might be anticipated, it does not appear that the promise held out by the President of the Local Government Board is very encouraging to you and those who went with you. I see that Will Crooks, who in the House of Commons advocated reforestation and reclamation of waste coast line to teach the unemployed a sort of agriculture and to fit them for subsequent deportation to Canada, could only express his gratitude to his capitalist masters by moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Walter Long for condescending to come and confer with the public bodies represented at the meeting. What occurred at this conference will occur at any others that take place, and the only result will be that you and others will get tired of attending them. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

—W. W.

THE COMMERCIALISATION OF LITERATURE.

The awful ignorance of the middle-class reacts on Society at large, yet the ignorance is not due to lack of information but incapacity of thought. This observation was forced upon me the other day as I was reading in *The Guardian* an article entitled "The Next Literary Epoch." Miss G. Hill, the writer, began by showing how books are now treated as manufactured articles, and are "advertised and sold much as a new line in dress material." This is due, to the gradual disappearance of the personal relation between publisher and author. Huge amalgamations have made the link solely a monetary one. The manager of the company dares not deal with ought but "certainties." The literary element in the governance of publishing is diminishing since the directors had no more knowledge of literature than the directors of a chemical company have of chemistry. Science has also created a thirst for facts; literature, as a mental refreshment and enjoyment, has ceased to be sought after.

Miss Hill continues: "We must take into account the fact that literature is chiefly in the hands of the middle classes, and will therefore be modified by the conditions of life and habits of thought prevailing among these classes. It is they who furnish the bulk of both writers and readers. The democracy, as a rule, use their leisure for the study of science. It might be supposed that what the upper classes lack in point of numbers they would make up in point of opinion; but they are not originators; they do not create new movements of thought or control the stream of intellectual tendency." Further the writer of this interesting article shows that specialising has become a rule, but that it is useless if the basis of education is not broad enough to specialise upon. People are acquiring knowledge without thereby acquiring "power." The facts obtained sufficed without deductions being made from these facts. "This is the way to train up learners but not thinkers."

S.J.C.R.

What sort of society is this that has, to the extent that ours has, inequality and injustice for a basis? Such a society is fit only to be kicked out through the windows—its banquet tables, its orgies, its debaucheries, its scoundrelism, together with all those who are seated leaning on both elbows and enjoying it on the backs of others whom they keep down on all fours. *The hell of the poor is the paradise of the rich, to solace themselves in.*—VICTOR HUGO.

The human race is gradually learning the simple lesson, that the people as a whole are wiser for the public good and the public prosperity, than any privileged class of men, however refined and cultivated, have ever been, or, by any possibility, can ever become. —LEWIS H. MORGAN. *Ancient Society.*

LABOUR PARTIES.

"To a Socialist the spectacle of the Labour Parties at home and in the colonies affords a very interesting study of the relations of labour politics to Socialism. To one who, in forming opinions on the tendencies manifested in society to-day, is accustomed to look merely on the surface of things, the formation of these labour parties in various parts of the British Empire may appear to be the forerunner of a great revolutionary movement on the part of organised labour. This view will be all the more strongly held if he should belong to one or the other of the alleged Socialist bodies whose business meetings consist of talking about the Labour Representation Committee, the "Labour" movement, the "Labour" party and, more important than all, the "Labour" leaders. To a member of *The Socialist Party*, however, that is to a person drilled in the methods of scientific analysis, the innocent economics and puerile politics which form the foundation and superstructure of "Labour parties" at home and abroad, are more often sources of regret than satisfaction.

At the present moment, therefore, it is more than ever advantageous to survey the political field within the Empire and the disposition of the forces of labour. There is the old established Labour Party of Australia, the more recent L.R.C. at home, and now the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress is going to inaugurate an Independent Labour Party. Thus organised labour is going to make itself felt, and the capitalists? Enough, let us examine them and see if their political efforts, continued on the lines pursued at present, are likely to eventuate in any permanent good to the working class of the various countries.

The Australian Labour Party started out full of promise and was backed up by practically all the Socialists in the country, except the few, who, wiser than their generation, saw what must be the inevitable result of the development of such a party. In its initial stages it ran on a quasi-Socialist programme, i.e., the nationalisation of monopolies, etc. As, however, the Party had no clear conception of the working class position in politics, it split ten years ago over the tariff question, a matter which in the main, had little to do with the working-class interest correctly understood. The Australian Labour Party, divided over the interests of the master-class, has never really been united on the point since. To-day this same Party has formed an alliance with the Protectionist Liberals, and amongst some of the measures it now supports are anti-trust legislation, protection for coastal shipping and, above all, bonuses for the iron industry. Truly matters of vital importance to the working class! The leaders of the Labour Party have agreed that if they, the Alliance, succeed in turning out the present Government they will go to the country as a National Progressive Party. Gone is even the mere vestige of their much vaunted independence!

Mr. Dalgleish, the new Labour Premier of Western Australia, in outlining his policy mentioned that there would be the most rigid financial economy, and that the "spirited" public works would be abandoned. This is the class of politics that the workers are asked to support.

The Australian Socialist League which first of all backed the "Labour" men, is now opposing them since the League was reconstructed some time back. The reason is not far to seek. The Socialists in Australia, like many of our friends here, thought that by pandering to the desires of those who were "coming our way" they would be in the end forced to embrace the Socialist position. Their expectations were not realised and now they are compelled to not only disassociate themselves from the "Labour" men but to actively oppose them. When King O'Malley, who recently complained about the smallness of his salary as M. P., some time ago was running for a constituency on the West Coast of Tasmania, he told one of his workers "it would not do to speak straight Socialism to the people, you must bluff them." He has acted consistently on this principle ever since, and his example has evidently been catching. The fact is the Australian Labour Party has become part and parcel of Australian master-class politics, tossed like a cork on the waves

of capitalism, where it will exist only as a disturbing factor until swept aside by the revolutionary current of scientific Socialism.

With regard to the Labour Representation Committee at home, it may seem unnecessary to criticise this, the most recent indication of the hopelessness of those who, in the name of labour, try to square the interests of the workers with those of their masters and secure justice for the working-class under capitalism. The programme, or what stands for a programme, of this body is of such a character that a good many loyal Liberals, without giving up in the slightest degree their faith in capitalism, would readily accept it. But in the eyes of the horny handed sons of toil who run the L.R.C., a party is more important than a programme, and if a "big" party can only be got together by a small programme, then the less of the latter the better for the needy politician.

If the L.R.C. is without a programme, at any rate, it will be said, it has a precious possession in the shape of Independence of both Liberal and Tory Parties. A slight examination, however, will reveal the fact that this policy of alleged independence is more of a shadow than substance. Arrangements between the "Independent" gentlemen of the L.R.C. and the Liberal Party, especially in double-barrelled constituencies, are not by any means unknown. Messrs. Bell, Crooks, Henderson, Shackleton, have all, since being elected to the House of Commons, supported the Liberal Party and other brands of reactionary politics—always of course in the interests of labour!

This Labour Representation Committee was called into existence by the Trade Union Congress, and, as the child inherits some of the characteristics of the parent, the proceedings at the last meeting of the latter body will enlighten the workers as to what they may expect from the "Labour" Party of this country. At the Congress some of the delegates expressed the opinion that it would be a good thing if all the trade unionists were called off the L. R. C. They have issued manifestoes in favour of free trade, asked for old age pensions and an extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act. At the same time some of their leaders tell us that this very "Compensation" Act is responsible for the older men being flung out of employment by the master-class who are unwilling to take the risks attendant upon the employment of workers over a certain age. One delegate pleaded earnestly for "fair" rents. How wise! Fair robbery!

The Canadian Labour Party will be like its British cousin in all its main features—the chief of which is, of course, the absence of any definite principle. Their "ideal," according to Mr. John A. Flett, is to hold the "balance of power" at Ottawa like the Irish Home Rule Party at Westminster. It is only natural to expect that the tactics of the Irish middle-class party should appeal to the Canadian Labourites whose political vision is obscured by middle-class spectacles. Notwithstanding the latter, however, the Labour men have lately been grumbling because the capitalist legislators shelved some proposed labour measures while providing every facility to the big financial corporations. Sooner or later it will dawn on our fellow wage-slaves of Canada that economic development necessitates the concentration of wealth into fewer and fewer hands and that the political machine is but the tool of the dominant class. When the working-class realises this, the seizure of the machinery of government and its operation in the direction of the conversion into common property of the wealth producing instruments now held by the capitalists, will become the programme which will carry it to victory.

The work of the Socialist here at home or in the colonies is to build up a *Socialist Party*, clear in the knowledge of the irreconcilability of the interests of the wage worker and the master, ever warning the working-class of the pitfalls in the shape of "labour" parties strewing the path which leads to emancipation from wagedom, ever teaching the slaves of capitalism that only by the overthrow of the present system of Society and the establishment of the Socialist Republic can the various evils confronting the working-class be removed.

In this country *The Socialist Party of Great Britain* alone stands for the Revolution.

E. J. B. ALLEN.

The S.D.F. and West Ham.

"In the Social-Democratic movement organisation and discipline are absolutely essential to success."

"Socialists, if once they begin to intrigue with the other factions, destroy their own enthusiasm and rot away the public confidence which they have as yet but partially gained."

"We want our men elected as Social-Democrats, for the greater glory of Social-Democracy. If they cannot be elected as Social-Democrats, they had much better remain outside. We want our men elected as Social-Democrats, independent of all other factions."

THE above gems from back numbers of the official organ of the S.D.F., make interesting reading to-day.

Our notes in the last issue of *THE SOCIALIST STANDARD*, concerning the situation in West Ham have aroused considerable interest throughout the country, and we understand that some members of the S.D.F., in endeavouring to answer the question, "Can such things be?" have applied to Bolt Court for light and leading.

To their enquiries they have received a misleading reply, as might be expected from the man who destroyed for ever his reputation for truthfulness in connection with the Lansbury episode. But our readers may be assured that whatever appears in *THE SOCIALIST STANDARD* will be reliable. We shall tell the "truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." We believe that "Honesty is the best policy"—even in electoral matters.

It is claimed on behalf of the S.D.F. that W. Thorne (the man whom the S.D.F. has continually permitted to break its rules by supporting Liberal candidates) is running as the Socialist and Labour candidate for South West Ham. We deny it, and will substantiate our denial.

Thorne has published, through the T.C.P., what purports to be the correspondence between himself and the Secretary of the Labour Representation Committee respecting the endorsement of his candidature by that conglomeration. But Thorne has not published *all* the correspondence. It is evident from the context that certain letters of Thorne's are omitted. Thorne knows best why. But note first the preface. He says:

"In consequence of the L.R.C. not agreeing to allow me to run as a Socialist and Labour candidate for South West Ham," &c.

The publication contains the resolution passed by the Biennial Congress of the Gasworkers' Union, held at Swansea, in May last, requesting Thorne to comply with the L.R.C. conditions and to run under the common title imposed on all candidates supported by the L.R.C. Thorne has complied.

He is, above all things, honest—"blunderingly honest."

On Sunday, Sept. 18, a mass meeting in support of Thorne was held at The Greengate, Plaistow. J. Gilbey, Secretary of West Ham Trades Council, presided, and said that many present would remember that the L.R.C. had decided to run their candidates as *Labour only*, but the Committee which was running Thorne wanted the public to understand that while Thorne was running *under that title*, he was still a Socialist, as he had always claimed to be. Thorne followed. He was glad that the position had been explained in respect to himself and the L.R.C. That Committee had decided that all candidates adopted by them should run as Labour candidates, and he had been obliged to toe the line, although he did not care a lot about it. To a certain extent it was a "backing down." But although he would have to call himself "a Labour candidate," he would still hold the same principles as before. After this, surely nobody will deny that Thorne, a member of the S.D.F., supposed by their rules to run as "a definitely-avowed Social-Democrat," is in

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

the field as simply a "Labour" candidate. It is true that H. Quelch, the "Trades Unionist and Socialist candidate" for Southampton, in speaking after Thorne, disagreed with his view of the situation. He did not consider it a "backing down." It was merely a step backward, in order to take a leap forward ("reculer pour mieux sauter"). There was no disgrace in a man calling himself a "Labour" candidate. Continental Socialists often did so; called themselves "Labour" parties, and so on, using exactly those excuses which the I.L.P. made years ago in reply to S.D.F. criticism, when they adopted as their object the Socialist principles, but refused to call themselves Socialists.

Again we refer our readers to the extracts at the beginning of this article.

One other matter. "S.D.F. Notes," supplied by the Secretary of that body, last month contained the following:

"The particulars I have received concerning our action in the forthcoming Municipal Elections are as follows:—

Then appears a list of candidates. Against Baldock's name is printed "I.L.P.," so that, apparently, the remainder are "our" (S.D.F.) candidates. Amongst them is J. J. Terrett, for Broadway Ward of West Ham, a thrice-expelled

member of the S.D.F. Upon his last expulsion H. W. Lee wrote in *Justice*:

"If the body had permitted Terrett to continue his vagaries, all organisation and discipline were at an end, and it would have been an encouragement to others to use the S.D.F. as a stepping-stone to public prominence, and then to fling it over when it suited them. Terrett has, to all intents and purposes, ceased to be a Socialist. This is proved by his recent letter to the *South Essex Mail*, and his conversation with members of the S.D.F. Personal ambition and want of judgment will be his curse."

Recently Terrett entered upon a wild-cat Parliamentary candidature for North-West Ham, from which he has since withdrawn. He held a meeting at Stratford Town Hall, presided over by Anarchist Leggett, and on the platform were McAllen, H. Quelch, Martin Judge and Hector Kirby, of the S.D.F., while J. Jones, of the S.D.F., moved the resolution in support of Terrett's candidature. Now, either these members of the S.D.F. received the sanction of the Executive to support Terrett, in accordance with the rules of that body, or they were permitted by the Executive to break the rules. But in any case, the fact remains that they supported

this able but erratic man, who has been, politically, everything by turns and nothing long, who has used the S.D.F. when it suited his own purposes to do so, and denounced them in Stratford Grove when so inclined.

The attitude of the leaders of that body and their official misrepresentations of the position in West Ham and elsewhere, would be ludicrous when considered in connection with the extracts appearing at the head of this article were it not that by such tactics the issue is confused. The S.D.F. no longer deserves the confidence of the workers. It must be exposed at home and abroad. J.K.

The Bloemfontein Weekly Post complains that as native women are making a living by selling their bodies to the whites, they are becoming very impudent. "No wonder" says the *Post*, "it is nearly impossible to get servants." The capitalist dislikes the "immorality," not because it is "immoral," but because it prevents him from getting servants. The article is headed "Immorality. The Native Pest." Pretty cool, isn't it? Socialism will abolish immorality, but this will not appeal to the capitalist, as he will then be his own servant.—S.J.C.R.

THE artisan who is demanding at this time an eight hours day in the building trades is simply striving to recover what his ancestor worked by four or five centuries ago.

—THOROLD ROGERS.

WAGE-WORKERS of the World, Unite! you have nothing to lose but your chains—you have the World to win.—MARX.

THE great appear great to us because we are on our knees: let us rise!—THEOIGNE.

THE modern state, whatever its form, is essentially a capitalist machine; it is the state of the capitalist; the ideal total capitalist.

—FREDERICK ENGELS.

THE punishment good citizens get for neglecting their politics is to be governed by bad men.

—PLATO.

THE abolition of poverty and the abolition of capitalism shall be accomplished at one and the same time.

Room! For the men of mind make way!

Ye robber Rulers, pause no longer;

Ye cannot stay the opening day:

The world rolls on, the light grows

stronger.

The People's Advent's coming!

—GERALD MASSEY.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. H. (Coventry).—Thanks for article which we will use in next month's issue. We are glad that you are pleased with *The Socialist Standard* and we shall try to improve it as opportunity affords.

T. K. (Luton).—We are sorry you can entertain no hope of forming a branch of our party for the present. The next best thing is the course you are adopting of selling Socialist literature, and thereby sow the seed which will ultimately blossom into a Socialist branch. Rely upon us for any assistance you may require. We are afraid that many of the branches of the organisation you name exist only on paper or in the imagination of its general secretary.

G. H. H. (Queen's Park, W.).—Thanks, but we are unable to use it. We carefully scan the column you mention, but seldom see anything in it which is useful. But what can you expect from the organ of capitalist nonconformity.

D. O. (Treharris) and others.—We are extremely pleased with your appreciative remarks, and shall do our best to deserve them. We shall try to avoid compromising our principles on the one hand, and filling our paper with vulgar vituperation on the other.

S. J. C. R. (Hellingly).—We have used two extracts from your letter in the present issue.

LITERATURE AGENCY.

Branches and members should purchase their literature through the Party Agent, F. C. Watts, 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, London, W. Write for particulars as to terms, etc.

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

The class meets weekly and is free to all. On application to J. Fitzgerald, 34, Wilmington Square, London, W.C., full particulars will be sent.

FROM OUR BRANCHES.

Reports from Branches for insertion under this heading MUST be in BEFORE the 20th of each month, otherwise they cannot appear.

BATTERSEA.

SINCE our last report we have made good progress. More new members have been enrolled and our economic and history classes are doing splendid work by equipping them for a more effective fight against working-class ignorance and apathy. Our party organ THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, goes well, and of the first number we managed to dispose of 260 copies: a fine total, but one that the energy and enthusiasm of our members enabled us to pass on the second issue of which we have sold 286 copies. We may be relied upon to do our best to maintain and increase even this figure, believing that in our paper we have an excellent medium for the propagation of the principles of Socialism.

A Sunday School class for the children is held every Sunday afternoon, and is well-attended, and after the school a communal tea is provided to which all comrades are most heartily invited.—PRESS COMMITTEE.

EDMONTON.

THE Edmonton Branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain is as active and successful as ever in its endeavour to build up a sound revolutionary party, and thereby justify its name. Despite the broken weather, we have held several good open-air meetings during the past month, and in order to further equip ourselves for the prosecution of that class struggle, the existence of which the pseudo reformers deny, we have formed a discussion class, which already is showing good results, so much so, that even our youngest recruit is now able and willing to take the chair and open our propaganda meetings.

Some somewhat sensational developments on our local District Council, and the very acute form of the unemployed problem manifesting itself in the district, has enabled our local Punch and Judy politicians to work overtime at the parish pump, but signs are not wanting that the unemployed already suspect the motives of those who would lead them. Already two relief committees exist and the formation of a third is contemplated.

The painfully pathetic spectacle of the deputation that waited upon the District Council begging, in the name of the working-class, that the master-class should forget its class-hood showed clearly enough that it was neither relief nor yet work that was wanted for the unemployed, but merely popularity and self-advertisement for a few unprincipled political quacks who are misleading the unemployed. In view of those things we are not idle. We are steadily at work clearing the political atmosphere, and every day brings nearer the time when those misleaders of the working-class shall find themselves alone, and an intelligent proletariat will know its true friends in The Socialist Party which will do its duty regardless of temporary and therefore, fleeting success.

In response to an invitation several of us journeyed to Waltham Cross on Saturday, Oct. 15th. A splendid meeting was held, during which over 30 copies of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD were sold and many intelligent questions about Socialism and the various working-class parties claiming to be more or less Socialist were put and answered to the evident satisfaction of all concerned.

The following Saturday, Oct. 22, we again visited Waltham, holding two fine meetings—one at the Cross, followed by one at the Abbey. Fifty-five copies of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD—the whole supply we had with us—were rapidly sold out.

The welcome given us and the eagerness displayed by the workers in Waltham will not soon be forgotten by those who had the privilege of carrying to them the seeds of Revolutionary Socialism. It was, many of them said, the first time the Socialists had come there and they urged us to come again. Needless to say, we readily promised to return, and it shall not be long before the men and women of Waltham

step forward into the field of Socialist politics in line with The Socialist Party of Great Britain.—A. ANDERSON.

FULHAM.

HERE we are doing all that a small branch placed in our position can do. Our literature sales have been fairly good, and our audiences though small at times, turn up regularly and consist mostly of men who will listen and reason, and are not led away by rhetoric, however brilliant. Solid educational work is being done and ere long we shall doubtless have our reward.

We have, of course, to combat the mischievous work of other bodies claiming to be Socialist, which finds expression in the mental confusion of those who take the floor against us. For example, it is a common thing to hear it urged against us that trade unionism is Socialism, and that trade unionists are Socialists!

However, the red flag is still flying, the knowledge of our principles is spreading, and the future is full of promise.—E. J. B. ALLEN.

WATFORD.

Past October—and all's well.

Excepting for special occasions, we have now closed down our open-air propaganda meetings, and are organising a scheme of winter work that we hope will keep the branch in evidence and Socialism clearly defined before the people of the town. Developments will be duly reported, and although we cannot—knowing the neighbourhood and its inhabitants passing well—anticipate that these will be of a startling nature, we are yet sanguine that before many moons we shall have a tale to tell of a growing class-conscious proletarian fighting force enrolled under the standard of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, pressing steadily along an undeviating path to the overthrow of capitalism and the realisation of the Co-operative Commonwealth. We plough a hard and lonely furrow to-day and the field of our endeavours is weed-encumbered and all but choked with stubble. But what a few can do to clear the ground and keep it clear that do we, and to-morrow we reap the harvest—or if we do not, it will not be fault of ours.

To all in the fight—Greeting!—ALEC GRAY.

WEST HAM.

J. J. TERRETT's farcical candidature for N. West Ham collapsed at a very early stage, although presumably backed officially by the S.D.F. But the "great" Joe is never happy unless he has a finger in the political pie in this much plagued borough, and is never satisfied unless he is "raising Cain" all along the line, and so he is now introducing a Parliamentary candidate in the person of Mr. W. W. Crotch from Norwich, and has succeeded in resuscitating the some time dormant N. West Ham Branch of the I.L.P.—a branch containing a number of persons who have been pursuing tactics detrimental even to I.L.Pism, and for that reason have been expelled from the S. West Ham branch of that party. This branch of "don't-know-where-they-are's" have apparently at "Joe's" behest adopted Mr. W. W. Crotch as Parliamentary candidate for the northern division of the borough, so that for our sins we have now two labour candidates, one in each division of West Ham. This kind of thing makes our position extremely hard. Our work would be much easier if we had to sow Socialist seed on virgin soil; but before we can do that we have to root up all the labour tares. Nevertheless, we are doing fairly well. We are successfully continuing our propaganda, having only failed to hold one meeting during the past month, that being due to the weather. We are doing very well with literature, both STANDARDS and pamphlets; and as we have had a number of greatly interested listeners and some enquirers, we hope soon to be able to announce a further increase in membership. I can confidently say that we shall be able to keep the uncompromising red flag flying here.—G. J. H.

Political economists see nothing but the past; hence future generations will represent the civilization of political economists by a head reversed and looking backward.—FOURIER.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

CENTRAL OFFICE:

COMMUNIST CLUB,

107, CHARLOTTE ST., LONDON, W.
General Secretary C. LEHANE.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Sydney Hall, York Road, Battersea, S.W.
CENTRAL.—Business transacted every Saturday at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W. Membership in the Central Branch can be obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
CLERKENWELL.—Kate Hawkins, sec., 38, Wilmingtong Square, W.C. Branch meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday in each month at 3 p.m. at 34, Wilmingtong Square, W.C.
EAST LONDON (Central).—W. Woodhouse, Sec., 95, Kirby St., Poplar, E. Branch meets every Friday at the address given.
EDMONTON.—A. Jacobs, Secretary, 26, Oxford Rd., Lower Edmonton, N. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.
FULHAM.—E. J. B. Allen, Secretary, 49, Mablethorpe Rd., Fulham Cross, S.W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.
ISLINGTON.—J. McNicol, Secretary, 179, Isledon Rd., Finsbury Park, N. Branch meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday of the month at 8.30 p.m. at the "Hope Coffee Tavern," 112, Fonthill Road, Finsbury Park, N.
PADDINGTON.—F. C. Watts, Sec., 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m., at Ollins' Coffee Tavern (foot of Lock Bridge), Harrow Road.
PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secretary, 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m., at 33, High St., Peckham, S.E.
ROMFORD DIVISION.—J. Kent, Secretary, 6, Rutland Road, Ilford. Branch meets 2nd and 4th Tuesdays in each month at 8.30 at secretary's address.
SOUTHWARK.—S. Eden, Secretary, 63, Penrose St., Walworth. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m., at the Café, Walworth.
TOOTING.—C. Goss, Secretary, 73, Balham Grove, Balham, S.W. Branch meets every alternate Tuesday, 8 p.m., at the "Nelson Coffee Tavern," 60, High St., Tooting.
WATFORD.—D. R. Newlands, Secretary, 5, Highfield Rd., Bushey, Herts. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m., 73, Harwoods Rd., Watford. Economic Class every Sunday at 3 p.m.
WEST HAM.—G. J. Hodson, Secretary, 'Kelmcott,' Sidney Road, Forest Gate, E. Branch meets every alternate Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at the address given.
WOOD GREEN.—J. Crump, Secretary, 10, Stanley Villas, Westbury Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.

SYDNEY HALL,

36, YORK RD.,

BATTERSEA, S.W.

LECTURES.

The following Lectures will be delivered at the above hall during November:

- Nov. 6 The Case for Socialism - R. Elrick
13 Why I left the S.D.F. - J. Kent
20 Industrial Evolution and its Consequences - F. C. Watts
27 Socialism and the Worker
A. Anderson

All are Invited.

The
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of
The
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of
Great Britain.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY]

THE COMPETITION OF WOMEN.

Every little while a cry goes up that women are displacing men in some industry or another, and the terror-stricken males affected, rave wildly about the duties of women and the "rights" of men, while the dear old platitudes about the "proper sphere of women" are trotted out. On the other hand there are enthusiastic feminists who rave as wildly about woman's "rights" and the utter selfishness of men, and who assert anarchistically that no restrictions whatever should be placed on female labour, and who virtually claim the right of woman to "blackleg" male labour if necessary. The advocates of each side, their intellectual vision bounded by the capitalist system, see nothing in the future but the gain of men at the expense of women, or the employment of women to the detriment of men. How superficial are such views and how utterly futile are the measures proposed, may be gathered from a brief review of this vexed question.

The fact that women are entering more and more into industrial pursuits is too patent to be disputed. In trade after trade the fact is noted. Here it is the clerks, there the textile workers, and here again it is the cycle machinists. During the half-century 1841 to 1891 the number of males engaged in the principal manufactures has increased by 53 per cent., whereas the number of females employed has increased by no less than 221 per cent. The influx of cheap labour into already overcrowded industries cannot fail to intensify the already acute distress due to the lack of employment.

The reasons for this increase of female labour are not far to seek. The precariousness of employment for males renders marriage less desirable, forces fathers to send their daughters, and husbands their wives, out to work to supplement the family earnings, while on the part of the women there is at the same time a growing necessity to find something other than marriage as a means of subsistence.

The steady increase of power-driven machinery renders strength less essential in industry, while the displacement of handicraft by the machine makes it possible to employ a lower grade of labour than formerly; therefore the employers, eager as ever to obtain the cheapest labour that is profitable, make use of the thrifty and industrious womanhood of the country for their purpose.

Here, as elsewhere, the law of wages is seen, and since women can live more cheaply than men, they get less in wages. Nay, since women and girls are in many cases partly kept by the males of the families, and are often only sent to work to obtain dress or pocket money until marriage, it requires a still smaller contribution from the employer towards their keep; and they, of course, usually get it. Women's wages are thus depressed, and men give a portion of their wages to subsidise competitors on the labour market.

During the past few years the decline in average wages and increase in cost of living has been particularly noticeable, whilst the unemployed have grown more numerous than ever. The displacement of men by machines, the development of machine industries in countries which were once markets for the produce of

this country, all tend to decrease the effective demand for products while productive powers increase at an ever faster rate. The foreign trade is going by the board, whilst the home market is severely stricken owing to the decreasing purchasing power of the masses and the competition of other centres of production. This must mean, it is clear, great "over-production," bankruptcies, stagnation of trade and unemployment, even without the additional factor of a greater over-supply of labour by reason of the employment of women. Indeed, the future of capitalism is seen to be full of dark clouds by even the most optimistic of men.

What, then, should be the policy of those who have the welfare of women truly at heart? By some "woman's righters" the abolition of all restrictions upon the employment of women is advocated as a solution of the question as far as women are concerned. It is obvious that this means neither more nor less than the right to "blackleg" male labour, since under existing conditions to become employed at all women must work cheaper than men. This must not only increase the unemployed by displacing men, but it will render it less possible for men to support families than hitherto, thus forcing more and more wives and daughters into competition with husbands, brothers, and each other. To flood the already overcrowded labour market in this way is to make employment more difficult to find even at wages that will barely suffice for one, not to speak of a family. This surely is no solution. Others, again, advocate the severe restriction of woman's labour, or the prohibition of female employment except at wages equal to that obtained by male labour of similar quality. Even were it possible to bring this about under capitalist rule, it would be worse than useless, for the following reasons: Owing to custom and prejudice, employers would in most instances rather employ a man than a woman, other things being equal, and women would hardly be employed at all, because they would be no cheaper than men. This would inflict great hardship on those numerous women who must earn their own living, while machinery and the competition of other centres would soon make the men worse off than ever. This again is no remedy.

What, then, is the solution? To find this we must go a little deeper into the problem than we have yet gone. It should be evident that, within limits, the employment of women should vastly increase the national wealth owing to the great increase in labouring power that is made accessible to society. Yet at present, we know that it would mean greater misery to the wealth-producers. The same is true of all the improved methods of wealth production. The greater efficiency of labour, the improved organisation of industry, the increase of labour-saving machinery should, it would seem, vastly increase the wealth and decrease the toil of the people. At present, however, the contrary is true, and every year sees an intensification of competition, and every machine swells the ranks of the unemployed.

If the increase in the nation's wealth does not at present benefit the wealth producers; if the increase of willing workers and labour-saving machinery serves only to make heavier the burden of the worker, we have to ask an explanation of such an anomalous state of things. The explanation is indeed easily grasped. When the producers own the means of production

and raw material they will reap the benefit of every improvement: but if the means of producing wealth are the property of a handful of individuals who use them as a means of profit only, then the greater the skill and number of propertyless workers, the fiercer will competition be between them, and the greater the portion of their produce they will tacitly be compelled to bid to the owners of the machinery of production in return for permission to earn a living. Since men cannot obtain a livelihood without having access to land and machinery, the owners of these wield supreme power over the non-possessors: and the propertyless in competition are compelled to forego, under the forms of rent, interest, and profit, practically the whole of what remains after the cost of maintenance of the worker and his family has been deducted from his total product. This, then, is the broad fact, obscure to most people by reason of the complexity of modern society, but at the bottom undeniable. It engenders the antagonism of interests between exploiter and exploited that is the basis of the modern war of classes.

If, therefore, the anomalous state of things which makes an increase in wealth-producing power spell a decrease in the well-being of the worker, is due to the divorce of the producers from the means of production, and the ownership of the latter by a parasitic class: the remedy is obviously not the reduction of society's producing power, but evidently the ownership of the productive and distributive machinery by the producers of wealth, and an end of class parasitism. In short, the disease is inherent in Capitalism and can be cured only by Socialism. Quack "remedies" which touch symptoms only are useless, the root cause must be abolished or the disease will grow worse.

We now see the only way with women's labour. Neither permission to women to "blackleg" nor their relegation to the harem is of the slightest use. So long as the system of capitalist production endures, so long must toil and trouble increase for the workers, both men and women. The only hope for both is in Socialism, for then only will wealth producers benefit by a plethora of wealth, and labour-saving devices mean a lightening of toil. It is now both impossible and undesirable to go back to, that dream of the poet, the middle ages, when each man owned his simple means of producing wealth. The mighty modern machine is a social instrument, ownership of which imparts almost absolute power. Too huge to be owned individually by the worker, the machine must be owned socially, and the workers can only throw off the yoke of wage-slavery and become their own masters by collectively assuming control of the machinery of industry and using it in the interests of the wealth producers.

The destinies of men and women are bound up together, and the emancipation of women can only come with the emancipation of men. Socialism is the only hope of the whole working-class irrespective of sex, and The Socialist Party of Great Britain is the only party that stands for undiluted Socialism.—F. C. W.

Let no man fear the name of "Socialist." The movement of the working-class for justice by any other name would be as terrible.

FATHER WILLIAM BARRY.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

IS SOCIALISM THE GOSPEL OF THE UNFIT?

Twenty years ago the principles of Socialism were certainly most imperfectly understood by the mass of the people, but the recent article in the *Daily Mail* entitled "The Gospel of the Unfit" shows also that a large number of educated men are still ignorant of its simplest elements. Mr. Percival Gibbon, confused no doubt by the fact that every philanthropist and "labour leader" or anyone else who expresses sympathy with the poor and oppressed, is dubbed a Socialist, has hardly grappled the "pure principle of Socialism" of which he writes. He is undoubtedly correct in his assumption that the Cause has attracted to its ranks many would-be politicians who find therein an outlet for their own personal ambitions, and who, obtaining a following, use the power thus obtained for their own ends. This is a parasitic growth common to all great movements; and in all countries it has been recognised by the Socialist parties as unavoidable. Meanwhile the Revisionists and "labour leaders" are being vigorously attacked; the Liberal, who tries to conceal his identity under a cloak of Socialism, is like the ass in the lion's skin, and betrays himself when he begins to bray.

The false idea of Socialism is still further increased by the action of that Press which sees Socialism in every measure touching the working-class. Even the late Labour Ministry in Australia was described as "Socialist," despite the absence from the Senate and House of Representatives of a single Socialist member.

It is admitted that these misleading statements have rivetted the attention of the public on self-seeking individuals, to the neglect of the "pure principle of Socialism." This, too, Mr. Gibbon finds "noxious and hostile to the natural tendency of the human race to growth in all directions," for "by opposing the law of the survival of the fittest it rallies the unfit to its side."

This statement is the portion of Mr. Gibbon's article which needs serious consideration. Now, if this hostility to Nature be really present, the scientists—and there are many—who support Socialism must be in a somewhat difficult position, for it is on scientific grounds that the Socialist bases his principles, and it is from the Theory of Evolution that he draws his conclusions; in fact the Theory of Evolution forms the bed-rock of his Economics and Philosophy. How then can his Socialism be in opposition to the natural tendencies of the human race? The mistake, only too often made, is due to a narrow interpretation of the Darwinian theory.

The word "fittest" is made to apply always to the individual instead of to the community or species. The "fittest" then, in the modern state of "civilised society," is the cunningest, even though physically and morally rotten; that is to say, the big financier, the swindler, etc! No doubt such folk are the fittest under the present conditions, but let the present conditions be altered, and the fittest to survive will be a totally different being. And the present conditions must alter, for modern competition between man and man is largely a hot-house product, forced on by artificial means, and unfitted to survive long in the open field of Nature.

Further, this suicidal struggle does not eliminate, but creates, the "unfit" and "unemployable." Strenuous competition is apt to throw out the capable and fit as well as to increase the degradation and misery of the "unfit" by heredity. It must be remembered also that it is from the section of the "unfit" that Socialism draws none of its recruits, while it is from the loafer and parasite at both ends of the social scale that the Movement meets with most of its opposition. On the other hand, it is from the more intellectual and capable of the citizen class that Socialism receives its chief support.

What then is this "Gospel of the Unfit," and at what system of Society does it aim? It demands, broadly speaking, a Society in which social production shall be for social use. This

involves the forming of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The questions to be considered are therefore, whether co-operation on a large scale is in accordance with the laws of Evolution, and whether it will tend to aid the advance, intellectual, physical, and moral, of the human race.

The theory of Evolution as put forward by Darwin, still remains the clearest conception of the origin and development of the various organic kingdoms, but it must not be forgotten that his theories were largely influenced by two important forces, namely, the desire to prove that man had evolved, and the teaching of Malthus. These two considerations led him to ignore, for the most part, a factor of evolution into which he had not the time to fully enquire.

This factor was the Law of Co-operation, which perhaps played a more important part in the development of species than any law of struggle or competition. Most of Darwin's followers have, however, been too narrow-minded to follow out a train of thought often suggested in his works. In the third chapter of "The Origin of Species" he says, "I should premise that I use the term 'Struggle for Existence' in a large and metaphorical sense, including dependence of one being on another, and including (which is more important) not only the life of the individual but success in leaving progeny."

We find too, in "The Descent of Man," that "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best," and he points out further that co-operation leads to the highest development of the intellect and morality needful for the survival of the species.

If we examine carefully this "dependence of one being on another" and "the success in leaving progeny," we find that the former results in the latter, and that co-operation regularly takes place during the breeding season for the sake of protection against a common enemy—the combination of several species of birds to attack a bird of prey is one of the commonest sights in nature. This same "dependence of one being on another" results in the highest development of the individual, for we find that individual intelligence and activity are conspicuous wherever the members of a species co-operate.

Among insects none are of higher intellect than the bees, ants, and termites. Their great works—their roads, their storehouses, are all marvels of workmanship, and each member of the community is capable of performing any part of the necessary work. Nor is any greater or less than another: an ant that refuses to help with food a fellow ant in need of it is killed.

Among birds, none are of greater intelligence than the parrots and cranes, who always live in communities and practise mutual help.

Among mammals there are few that do not associate with their species. The happy lives of the members of the marmot communities, and the wonderful powers of the beaver are notable examples of the development attained through co-operation.

We find, too, that the monkeys, which show the highest development of all mammals, except man, live almost wholly in societies. Finally, among primitive men, savages, and barbarians, communism was the rule, and it is undoubtedly to this that we owe the high development of the human race.

So then, the "survival of the fittest" does not imply mutual competition, which leads to the destruction and weakening of the species, but rather mutual help. This, however, can only be properly practised in a Society where social production is for social use instead of for individual profit; and where the individual, freed from the degrading and destructive struggle for the means of existence, may have time and space to fully develop his own individuality without depriving the other members of his species of the necessities of life. For Socialism by no means aims at reducing all men to the same dead level—a sheer impossibility—but rather seeks the development of a Society in which Nature, with her laws of natural selection, may have perfect freedom from all artificiality, and in which the mutual law shall be, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

SYDNEY CHASE.

The rich are always content with the lot of the poor.—WERTHEIMER.

SOCIALISM IN COVENTRY.

SOCIALISM in this city is of the sort which one would naturally expect to find where its professors fail to recognise its basic principle. To this fact we may attribute the lack of proper enthusiasm, and want of adequate financial support which were conspicuous features of the Clarion Sunday Lectures held last winter.

All the alleged Labour and so-called Socialist parties here have identified themselves, time and again, with one of the capitalist parties—the Liberals.

Some two years ago when Dr. Clifford brought his nonconformist conscience to Coventry, and spoke in the Corn Exchange to the kind-hearted Liberals on the monstrosities of the wicked-hearted Tories, the Independent Labour Party had its representative on the platform. Is Dr. Clifford in favour of, or will the Liberal Party grant, that Secular Education which the I.L.P. and other professedly Socialist bodies demand? We know they will not. Then why this coquetting? Is such a policy calculated to make converts to the Cause from amongst Conservatives who see professedly independent Socialists hobnobbing with their natural enemies, the Liberals?

The Liberal element was much in evidence during the Clarion Lectures referred to. Liberal members of the Town Council took the chair on more than one occasion, and I heard Mr. H. R. Farrer express the hope that the Mayor (a Liberal) would see his way to preside at some future date. Yet only a few weeks ago this same Mayor bluntly informed a deputation convened by the Trades Council on behalf of the unemployed, that "the general feeling of the Council was antagonistic to the Trades Council, and communications sent by the latter body were invariably treated with contempt."

As a result of this unemployed conference, work was found by the Town Council for 90 men of the thousands standing idle. *Val victis!*

"See yonder poor o'erlabour'd wight,
So abject, mean, and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil;
And see his lordly fellow work
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful tho' a weeping wife
And helpless offspring mourn."

So the capitalist-class flouts the claims of the worker and the only way for Socialists to checkmate them and effectually combat the evil tendencies which are the natural outcome of Bourgeois domination is by the maintenance of complete independence and of uncompromising opposition to both wings of the capitalist party.

Complete independence must be the watchword of all Socialists, otherwise we cannot wonder at Conservatives regarding us as little more than a wing of the Liberal Party.

JAMES HUTCHESON.

CALL ye that a society, where there is no longer any social idea extant? not so much as the idea of a common home, but only of a common over-crowded lodging house, where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries "mine!" and calls it Peace, because, in the cut-throat and cut-throat scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort, can be employed.

T. CARLYLE. (Sartor Resartus.)

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then, for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who now, for the first time, becomes the real conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation. . . . It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.—FREDERICK ENGELS.

KARL MARX.

It has been said by the cynic that each man considers himself, and each woman considers her husband, the greatest of men. Be that as it may, it is not to the man whose influence over a few is the greatest, but to him through whom has been exerted the most far-reaching influence for good over the greatest number of the world's inhabitants and through whom the progress of man's happiness has most largely been caused, that must be accorded the premier position in the estimation of mankind.

I am not a believer in the "great man" theory which attributes historical events and social changes to the genius, courage, and enterprise of this individual or that, but hold rather the view that the development of society in accordance with natural law through a never-ending concatenation of cause and effect, action and reaction of forces, has always produced at the required juncture, instruments in the shape of men for further progress.

It is always difficult to apportion to any one man the share due to him of any great movement or thought or invention, inasmuch as he takes advantage of the work done by the many who have gone before. Nevertheless, it is always interesting to survey the proportions and gaze on the personality of the men with whose names have been associated movements and ideas which have to any appreciable extent influenced the thoughts and actions of any considerable section of the human race.

I think, however, it is not to the man of science in the laboratory, not to the man of letters in the library, not to the inventor in the workshop that we have to look so much as to the social investigator and teacher, the world teacher who, through the science of society and universal philosophy, has shown how best the laboratory and literature and invention can be applied for the advantage of the race. If we judge then by this standard and look among the philosophers we shall find but one teacher whose influence has been manifested in the founding of a school of social thought which is world-wide. That teacher is Karl Marx.

Marx is known less in this country than he is on the Continent, but even here are to be found a goodly number of people clear in the perception of the truths unveiled by Marx, and more than that, the philosophy, the religion and the political ideas of those who are opposed to him are leavened by his views. In England as in America, in Australasia as in Japan, in South America as in South Africa, and everywhere in Europe do we find men with common aims, common hopes, and common ideals, building on the doctrines formulated by Marx a practical constructive policy for the banishment of the social ills from which men suffer, for the laying of a satisfactory basis of human life in the establishment of a society which shall provide adequately for man's material needs, and through his material well-being secure a healthier intellectual and moral character for the race.

What, then, was the teaching of Marx? His main position is to be found in his *Das Kapital* in which he discusses the economy of capitalist society, tracing its origin and development and foretelling its ultimate end. His main theses were that all rent, interest and profit find their source in the unpaid labour of the working-class; that from free competition monopoly must necessarily arise, large capitals being able to crush small capitals and absorb them, while these large capitals grew larger in the hands of individual owner, limited liability company, combine, trust; that through the introduction of machinery and the consequent production of machinery by machinery, human labour is displaced and an industrial reserve of unemployed is necessarily established; that this same machinery more and more specialises man's effort till man becomes a routine worker carrying on monotonous detail operations; and that arising from the industrial anarchy in society as regards both production and distribution is the poverty and consequent misery of the wage-working population.

Far more wide-reaching than all these however, is his materialistic conception of history, and his claim that all history has been a history

of class struggles which will last until the lowest class, the class of the workers, gains political control and uses the power its members thereby gain to abolish all classes by abolishing the basis of class society, i.e., private property in the means of living. The materialist conception of history, as understood by Marx, is not necessarily associated with a belief in scientific or physiological materialism—that all phenomena can be explained in terms of molecules or atoms or any lower form of matter into which molecules or atoms can be resolved. Marx's theory is that the economic modes of production and of distribution in any society are, in the main, the governing factors upon which the social structure, religion, political and juridical relations of that society depend. If this theory be sound then it follows that any change in any of the existing relations of man to man must be preceded by a change in industrial methods, and that any change in industrial methods is reflected in the social phenomena of society.

That Marx was not only a great thinker but a great leader of men can be disputed by no one who has examined the political strength of Socialism. A man who, in indicating the mainspring of social development, has laid the foundation stone of that mighty international movement with its millions of adherents; must have been equipped with more than ordinary vision. And to those who believe that the future of society must follow the lines laid down by him, it reasonably appears that the name of Karl Marx will for all time be associated with the most momentous social transformation heretofore witnessed in history. He who in the midst of a poverty-stricken exile laid down the principles guiding a world-wide movement destined to shape the society of the future must be hailed by friend and foe as one of the world's greatest, and by Socialists as the greatest, measured by his influence for the betterment of the lives of men and the regeneration of society.

R. ELRICK.

SOCIALISTS AND LIBERALS.

MR. WILL THORNE'S VIEW.

The "Stratford Express" publishes the following letter:—

"November 11th, 1904.

"Dear Sir,—In reply to yours, with reference to attending at Mr. Crooks' meeting to-night, I think it will be impossible for me to attend, as I have to attend a joint meeting at the Bricklayers' Hall, Southwark, in connection with the sections engaged in the building trade.

"I should like to point out that by the compact made by the Liberal and Radical members of the West Ham Town Council with the Tories with a view of defeating the ends of the Labour Party, it has made it almost impossible for the advanced workers in the borough to render any assistance to the Liberal and Radical candidate for the north side of the borough. No doubt some of these gentlemen will say that the Socialist and Labour Party made a compact with the members of the Council in 1898.

"But I should like to point out that the compact we made was with the Liberals and Radicals and Irish Nationalists. Many members of the Liberal and Radical Party have been urging a compact between Liberalism and Labour, but it has never been suggested or thought of by the Socialists and Labour members with the Tories. You will, therefore, see that there is a great deal of difference between the compact made in 1898 and the agreement made between the Liberals and Tories of the West Ham Town Council for the election of Mr. Byford as Mayor, and for filling up the vacant aldermanic seats.

"If this thing is going to continue, then it seems to me that the gulf which exists between Liberalism and Labour will become very much wider. I trust that you will have a very successful meeting. I was thinking of writing a letter to the Press about the compact made by the Liberals and Radicals and the Tory members on the West Ham Town Council.

Yours truly,

"W. THORNE.

"Mr. W. Wadley,
"68, Hampton-road, Forest Gate, E."

PARTY NOTES.

DURING the present month there will be two meetings of the E.C., viz., Saturday, December 3rd, 3 p.m. and Tuesday, December 20th, 7 p.m. These meetings will be held at the Communist Club, and any member, by presenting his membership card, is entitled to be present during the transaction of the business.

The practice, initiated by our Provisional Executive, of throwing the Sessions of the E.C. open to the members, is now a rule of the Party and is giving every satisfaction, not only to the members who, residing in London, have the opportunity of attending, but also to those living in provincial centres. A short time ago I received from a member in the midlands a letter from which I quote the following:

"I am exceedingly well pleased with the tone of our paper. It has the genuine ring about it. I was especially interested in and greatly pleased with your report at the General Meeting. The policy pursued, as indicated in your report, is the very essence of Democracy. No Tammany Hall here! Let everything be done openly and above board. That is Socialism."

Largely owing to the efforts of our Edmonton and Wood Green comrades, there is every likelihood of a Branch of the Party being soon established in Tottenham, where our comrades have been conducting a successful out-door propaganda. Last Sunday two of our speakers held a meeting at West Green Road at which the names of several new members were obtained. Two persons (not members of the Party) moved a vote of confidence in our organisation which was carried without dissent by the audience.

Our Islington comrades are active, and have not the slightest intention of being excelled by Paddington or any other Branch. They have obtained, since my last "Notes" appeared, more new members and are again at the same rate of increase as Paddington. Of course, mere numbers is not all that is required.

But in addition to keeping well abreast as far as Branch membership is concerned, the Islington Branch has shown the lead in the number of prepaid subscriptions obtained for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD. Comrade Sator, alone, has sent in eight Annual Subscriptions and is no doubt looking for more. Here is an example that could with advantage be emulated by many more of our members.

The sale of the Party Organ will, of course, not be so large during the next two or three months as it has been during the open-air propaganda season. But any possible diminution of income from sales can be to a certain extent compensated for by an increase in the Annual Subscriptions. Now is the time to secure them.

In Battersea the Sunday Night Lectures at Sydney Hall are being continued. I have not yet received the Syllabus for December, but am in a position to announce two subjects. On Sunday, 4th December, C. Lehané will speak on "Ireland, To-day and To-morrow," and on Sunday, 11th Dec., J. Fitzgerald will lecture on "Reform or Revolution." Time, 7 p.m.

Rumours are afloat that several of our members have quitted the Party and gone back to the S.D.F. This is not so. I am not aware of a single case where this has occurred. But we can readily understand that in circulating the rumour the wish is father to the thought.

C. LEHANÉ.

OBSTINACY of opinion and heat in argument are surest proofs of folly. Is there anything so assured, resolute, disdainful, contemptive, serious, and grave as an ass?—MONTAIGNE.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

To facilitate the transaction of the business of the Editorial and Management Committee, appointed by the Executive Committee of The Socialist Party of Great Britain to conduct its official Organ, members of the Party and other readers are particularly requested to address all literary communications to the Editorial Committee, 5, Arvon Road, Highbury, N., and all business correspondence, including Subscriptions and Advertisements, to A. Anderson, 24, Belmont Avenue, Edmonton, N.

(Signed) C. LEHANE, Secretary,
Editorial and Management Committee.

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The Socialist Standard,
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1904.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

ONE of the most important questions raised at the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam was that of Socialist Unity. This is by no means the first time that consideration has been given to this subject. It has often been felt by many of those who have taken part in Socialist propaganda and Socialist organisation that much harm was done by the existence in this and other countries of rival Socialist organisations. And those who have thus felt have been anxious to find some means of unifying the Socialist parties in each country. The International Congress has on the present occasion contented itself with passing a pious resolution recommending the various groups in any country to use their best endeavours to secure this end.

We confess that we are not sanguine that anything will be done. And we are by no means certain that if anything could be done that such thing would be desirable. We are all for unity. We believe that unity of party organisation based upon unity of purpose, unity of principle, and unity of method is the one thing desirable. But to-day we are only too sure that such unity of party organisation, so far as the various groups of Socialists in any country are concerned, would be at the expense of unity of purpose, principle, and method.

In the field of Socialist thought and Socialist action there are to-day two distinct tendencies to be found: the revolutionary and the revisionist. At one time the main trend of Socialist development was essentially revolutionary, but to-day the Socialist movement has been overtaken by a wave of revisionism.

In every country where there is anything in the nature of a Socialist party we have a struggle for supremacy between these two opposing tendencies. And these tendencies manifest themselves in opposing groups. The differences existing in France between Jaures and Guesde and their respective parties are not isolated cases. In Italy we have the parties of Ferri and Turati; in Germany we have the Bernsteinians; in Belgium the Socialists are almost purely revisionist; in America and elsewhere we have similar dissensions.

In this country we find the same forces, the same influences at work. There are in England—in addition to The Socialist Party of Great Britain—three organisations closely identified with Socialism, viz., The Fabian Society, The Social-Democratic Federation, and The Independent Labour Party. Of these four organisations

the three latter are revisionist, the former is revolutionary. Hence while there exists no apparent reason—except the jealousy of the individual members—why the three revisionist bodies should not unite, The Socialist Party, taking its stand on the class struggle, which The Fabian Society and The Independent Labour Party in their writings, and The Social-Democratic Federation by their actions deny, is fundamentally opposed to these other parties.

Unity is an important factor in the growth of a party, but it is not the most important. Better far to have a party, however small, with common principles and a common end, than a party, however large, which is bound by no tie save party interest. We, therefore, who differ from these other parties in essential principles—inasmuch as we accept the principle of the class struggle while they do not—cannot consent to unite our forces with theirs. It would weaken both parties—and the weakening would be more disastrous to the uncompromising section than to the revisionist.

But, it may be objected, does not at least the Social-Democratic Federation accept the principle of the class struggle? Judging from their writings one would imagine that they did. But judging from their actions they do not. And when a party pretends to believe something which their actions belie, the most charitable construction to put upon the matter is that they are avowing their belief in principles which they do not really understand. Their allegiance is but lip-allegiance.

The latest action of the Social-Democratic Federation is proof conclusive that they have little faith in the principle of the class struggle. In the columns of "Justice" recently, the claim was put forward that the Social-Democratic Federation controlled a million votes in the United Kingdom—an average voting strength, that is, of nearly 1,500 in each constituency. The absurdity of this claim is shown by the fact, first, that the total strength of their organisation does not exceed, if we judge by their subscription list, 1,500 in all or two in each constituency, and, second, that in those constituencies in which their voting strength is the greatest, as shown by their being selected for contest, their vote has ever failed to reach this number of 1,500. If in selected constituencies they cannot secure this number, how much less can they secure it on the average in all the constituencies?

Why do they raise this absurd claim? Is it not that they have ceased to be a purely Socialist party and are going in for mere reform? In the first number of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD we expressed our opinion that they had become a reform party seeking only to secure free maintenance of the children. Now they are acting in the stereotyped method of all reform parties and are coquetting with the Liberal Party. They have written to the Liberal Leader asking him for a pronouncement as to the position of the Liberal Party on the question of free maintenance of the children and of the payment of members. Now, what is their position if he affirms that the Liberal Party are in favour of these two principles? They are morally bound to throw the million votes they say they control on the Liberal side: they are morally bound to give their utmost support to the Liberal Party. Hence their million votes! And the Liberal Party, knowing that the million votes are but the figment of the Quechian imagination, treat their communications with studied contempt.

The Fabian Society is a collection of middle-class men who cannot possibly, if the class war theory be correct, believe in that class war. They think the best method of furthering what they understand to be Socialism is to join other

political parties—Tory or Liberal—and educate them from within. And with their type of Socialism they may be perfectly right. But the Socialism of the Fabian Society is not the Socialism of the class struggle, not the Socialism of the Dresden resolution, not the Socialism of anti-revisionism. Their Socialism is a commercial type—the Socialism of the merchant, of the market: as mongrel a breed as the Manchester brand of philosophic radicalism.

The methods of the Independent Labour Party are such as might be expected of a party which was avowedly the child of political cowardice. "We find" said the founders of that organisation, "we find that many people dislike the name of Socialism and, therefore, we must start a party with Socialist principles but without the name." Since its initiation it has held unswerving and uncompromising faith in the principle of compromise. And now it has entered into an unholy alliance with the Labour Representation Committee and is already quarrelling with the other organisations represented thereon as to who should have the dominant voice in the administration of that wing of the Liberal Party.

We cannot see, therefore, how we can secure unity by joining hands with these organisations. They are carrying out a policy with which we cannot agree, and we, and with us the Socialist movement of this country, of which we claim to be the truest representatives, would be hindered for a space. We are all for unity, but it is for a unity firmly established on a common aim, and a common method. Any other unity is but a delusion.

We shall continue then to carry on our work of propaganda and organisation in our own way, trusting that our party will gain the support of all those in this country who are desirous of achieving unity, and that as time goes by our present party nucleus will widen until such time as its strength will have rendered it in reality as in name the worthy political expression of the whole of the Socialist movement in Great Britain.

We, for the present, think that a unification of Socialist forces in this country is neither possible nor desirable. As the years go by our work will bear good fruit and we shall grow in numbers until the accomplishment of Socialism shall have rendered our party unnecessary. Its only remembrance will then be in the hearts and minds of a happy and contented people—the children of The Socialist Republic.

THE really exhausting and really repulsive labours instead of being better paid they are almost invariably the worst paid of all. The more revolting the occupation the more certain it is to receive the minimum of remuneration.
JOHN S. MILL.

In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, forms the basis upon which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch. Consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes. The history of these class struggles form a series of evolution in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once for all emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinctions and class-struggles.—MARX.

THE receipt of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

A LOOK ROUND.

THOSE nose-poking busybodies who constitute the Charity Organisation Society have recently employed themselves enquiring into the question of other people's unemployment and have issued an exhaustive report on the matter. They have discovered that pauperism and vagrancy are increasing continuously and that there is a large, unskilled, unorganised mass, many of whom are unemployable, if that word can be taken to mean that they have come to dislike long periods of continuous labour, and are often, in bodily strength and temperament, unfit for it.

At first sight this looked as if the C.O.S. were indulging in the prevailing fashion and attacking the "smart set," but as probably some of the Society belong to that set they would hardly cry "stinking fish." The report contains a number of recommendations which may be summed up in more committees, more classification, better organisation of charity and a further enquiry and report. And if all these recommendations are adopted the unemployed problem will be untouched because the cause of the unemployment lies deeper than these people have ever poked. When it is solved by the only way, a reorganisation of our industrial system, well-fed unemployed like the members of the C.O.S. will find circumstances somewhat altered.

Charity, whether organised or unorganised, exists because some folk have more than they need and others need more than they have. In a country where labour applied to natural objects can produce more than sufficient for everybody, such a state is unnecessary as well as unjust. In the Socialist Society, where industry is organised for the benefit of all, where all perform their share of the necessary labour and where all enjoy without stint the results of the organised effort of the whole community, neither want nor charity need to exist. But the perpetuation of the capitalist system and not the establishment of the Socialist Society is the object of the charity-mongers.

In a note appended to the report George Lansbury, who was a member of the Committee of Enquiry, dissents from it, mainly on questions of principle, such as the reasons which have led to increased pauperism in places like Poplar and West Ham. He agrees with what is said as a statement of reasons which have operated to accentuate the evil, but does not agree that we have created the evil. He is of opinion that this lies far deeper in our individual life than any question of Poor-Law administration. This is veering round with a vengeance, for a man who has been a Socialist Parliamentary candidate and thus has publicly associated himself with the materialist philosophy.

Much attention is being given just now to the Poplar Labour Colony at Landon, Essex, which is claimed by its promoters to most nearly approach to a solution of the unemployed problem. The colony consists of some hundred acres of land which were presented to the Poplar Guardians at a peppercorn rent for an experimental period of three years by Mr. Fels, with the option of buying it at the price he paid, viz., £2,125. Work has been going on for three months, during which time two reservoirs have been constructed and are almost ready for use, living quarters have been erected, and nearly the whole of the farm colony prepared for cultivation. When it is added that the colonist, of course, is not supposed to make a resting place of the farm, but will, when sufficiently trained in agricultural duties, be passed on to some other employer, where he will be able to make a fresh start in life, it will easily be recognised how far from the solution the experiment is.

From the point of view of those of the submerged who are taken from the gutter and taught to become competent agricultural workers some good is done, but as soon as they become such they enter into competition with other workers, and if they are to secure em-

ployment it can only be by driving others, less competent perhaps, into the gutter to require treatment by the Guardians in the same manner. Obviously such a scheme provides no solution of the problem—it merely raises one section of the community at the expense of another.

In dealing with this problem last month, attention was drawn to the effect of the introduction of machinery, involving a greater and greater output with the aid of fewer men. Machines are introduced to effect a saving, usually in the wages bill. Last month's number of the "Decorator" published a description of the paint-dipping plant recently installed at Woolwich Arsenal. Ammunition and other waggons are dipped bodily into tanks containing paint, which is kept agitated by means of revolving screws, and may be given three coats in one day, as the paint dries very quickly. The saving effected is very great and is likely to be extended to other industries.

The Liberals have every reason to be satisfied with the good work which W. Crooks is doing for them, and they must laugh in their sleeves when they recollect that he is paid £200 a year by the L.R.C. to represent "Independent" Labour. Last month he presided at a bazaar organised by the Boro' of Woolwich Labour Representation Association, and in his opening address declared that Earl Carrington was one of the best friends of Labour, and a democratic member of the House of Lords. The workers of Woolwich were under more than an ordinary obligation to his lordship. If every lord who possessed land as Lord Carrington did were as good and kindly as he it would be an excellent thing for the country.

So that apparently, in Crooks' view, landlordism is all right if the landlords are good and kindly, and no objection may be raised to the House of Lords provided the members are "democrats" and will condescend to place the workers under more than an ordinary obligation by opening bazaars for them!

Of course his lordship was smart enough to rise to the occasion and to play the game. He returned his most grateful thanks for having been allowed to open the bazaar, which he believed was entirely run and entirely stocked by the free gifts of that great industrial class which it was his pride and his privilege to remember his own family originally sprung from. It is rumoured that he added "and have lived on ever since and will continue to do as long as you will allow us" but the loud and prolonged applause, ably led by Mr. Crooks, prevented this from being heard by the assembled sturdy sons of Labour.

Since the bazaar Crooks has been the chief speaker at a Free Trade meeting at Stratford Town Hall, where the chair was taken by C. F. G. Masteman, who was such a *persona grata* with some S.D.F. members when he recently contested Dulwich that they canvassed for him. He is at present the Liberal candidate for North West Ham. The Liberal wirepullers, with their usual astuteness, are trotting him round the constituency in a "non-political" capacity. A few days previous to this meeting he took part in an Education conference and lectured to the members of Grove Congregational Church Literary Society. Doubtless he will shortly be present at the annual distribution of the Coal and Clothing Club, send his best wishes to the annual sale of work of the Dorcas Society, and look in for a few moments at the concert of the amalgamated athletic clubs of the district, for thus are elections fought and won.

At the Free Trade meeting Councillor Anarchist Leggett occupied a seat on the platform, together with A. E. Jacobs (I.L.P.), and letters were read from W. Thorne (Labour Candidate for South West Ham) and C. Boardman (Liberal and Passive Resister), regretting their inability to take part in the meeting. Truly a strange gathering! After the speeches Crooks proposed

a resolution pledging those present at the meeting to oppose any candidate at the next election who does not guarantee to maintain the policy of Free Trade. Now, if such candidates are to be opposed, their opponents, provided that they pledge themselves to maintain the policy of Free Trade, must be supported. Thus the Liberals adroitly lead Labour members and candidates to admit that there is a difference between capitalist candidates—a difference in favour of Free Traders as against Protectionists, a difference in favour of the kites as against the crows. It is regrettable that members of the S.D.F. and the I.L.P. fall so easily into this trap.

In the September quarter's report of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union, W. Thorne hopes that when the general election takes place Union members in all parts of the country will recognise the absolute necessity of working for and voting in favour of men of their own class. That way lies disaster! From a Socialist point of view the fact that a candidate is or has been a member of the working-class is not of itself sufficient. Nothing is to be gained by voting for a candidate, whatever his class, who does not understand the principles of Socialism, and who is not prepared to go to the House of Commons as a rebel, determined, by every means in his power, to seek the overthrow of the capitalist-class. The average labour leader who attaches himself to a section of the capitalist political party serves the interests of that party and not those of the working-class.

Socialists well understand the motives that prompt benevolent plutocrats to build model villages, erect sanitary and even palatial factories and workshops, admit their employees to a share of the profits, and other little dodges of a similar character. It is because they are sufficiently far-sighted to recognise that it pays. The latest is the introduction by Messrs. J. Lyons & Co., of the gramophone. This is now kept going whilst the workers grind coffee, pack tea, etc. A representative of the firm thinks that instead of detracting the girls from their work it gives them a fillip. Soldiers, he says, march better to music, so why should not workers work better?

There is every reason why the necessary labour should be performed under healthy and enjoyable conditions, but such are at present adopted only to enable the capitalist class to obtain greater results in a given time out of the workers.

W. C. Steadman, who is advertised in the "Finsbury Free Press" as the "adopted Liberal, Radical and Labour Candidate for Central Finsbury," pursues the even tenor of his way and plays his part exceedingly well as a decoy-duck for the Liberals. Last month he presided at a meeting held at Stepney Meeting House to hear an address from Mr. Durham Stokes, the Liberal Candidate. On the platform were Earl Beauchamp, B. S. Strauss, Liberal candidate for Mile End, and J. W. Benn, Liberal candidate for St. Georges. We would ask our friends who urge the workers to vote for men of their own class, without insisting that they shall be Socialists, whether they consider that Steadman is acting as a friend of his class whilst he is playing the game of the capitalists in this manner?

An arbitration case has just been concluded between the Liverpool Corporation and Sunlight Soap Lever. Some years ago Mr. Lever purchased 2,200 acres of land at Horwich, adjacent to the Rivington Watershed, the property of the Liverpool Corporation, for £60,000. Mr. Lever gave 400 acres of the land to Bolton, his native place, for a public park, and for the remainder, which the Liverpool Corporation require for public works, he demanded £400,000. The Corporation offered to pay £40,000. Mr. Lever displayed his "public spirit" by refusing and putting Liverpool Ratepayers to the expense of an arbitration, as the result of which the price fixed to be paid to him is £138,449. In this manner our "model employer" builds up his reputation for good works, and by his own hard work (?) becomes enriched. For of such is the kingdom of capitalism.—J. KAY.

The Great Public Schools of England.

It should be mentioned at the outset that by the "Great Public Schools" are meant those open only to the members of the Public who have long purses or long pedigrees. They are institutions peculiar to England, where the sons of the propertied-class are taught to play games well, and to despise both healthy labour and those who are foolish enough to provide them with free education and free maintenance, while refusing to claim the same for their own children. For centuries past it has been the aim of all members of the capitalist-class to obtain places for their sons at Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, or any other great public school, the mere mention of which is to stamp the youths as "gentlemen." The majority of our "famous statesmen" have been educated at these "theatres of athletic manners and training places of a gallant, generous spirit"; and it is in these pleasant places that our rulers and owners have acquired that "education" which is so powerful a factor in fostering class prejudice. It will therefore be interesting to learn for what purpose they were founded.

In the 14th century, William Wykeham, the son of a small farmer, founded the first English Public School at Winchester; the Statutes declare that his purpose was to establish a school where a liberal education might be given to those who desired it but who were unable to pay the cost; they were to be *pauperes et indigentes* (poor and needy), and they were to be "clothed, boarded, lodged, and taught entirely free of cost"; further, 70 Fellowships at New College, Oxford, were to be reserved for them. The number of well-to-do scholars, paying full fees, was limited to 10! Well, in 1873 the "poor and needy" were being charged £80 a year, while 150 scholars were paying full fees.

The world-renowned Eton College was founded in the 15th century by Henry VI. The scholars, who were to be "*pauperes et indigentes*, apt for study and of good morals," were entitled to board and lodging, clothing and education, free of charge! It is needless to say that only the wealthy can afford or dare to send their sons to Eton, and the founder would find it difficult to recognise his carefully formed, constituted, and endowed school in the present famous "patrician seminary." For high-class snobbery an Etonian easily beats all records, and those of the other public schools are hard to beat.

In 1512, Thomas Sutton was given permission to found the Charterhouse School for the free education and maintenance of poor children. The air of London proving unwholesome, the "poor children" now resort to Godalming, where plenty of good food and healthy exercise help to form those fine, strapping fellows that form such a contrast to the stunted growth of the slum dweller.

In 1567 L. Sherriff started a free school at Rugby, chiefly for Rugby boys.

In 1571, John Lyon, a yeoman, formed a school at Harrow for the "perpetual education of the poor children of the parish of Harrow, without any charge for the same." Harrow School, second only to Eton!

The Merchant Taylors' School was founded in 1560 for the free education of 250 boys, who alone should be eligible for some 50 Scholarships and Fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford.

In Edward VI.'s reign many free schools were started, including Shrewsbury School, and Christ's Hospital in London for the sons of the "very poor." Christ's Hospital, indeed, has long been of advantage to the hard-worked city clerk and the ill-paid curate, but with its removal to Hove, it will doubtless soon become, like Charterhouse, a place where the working-class will give free education and free maintenance to the sons of the wealthy.

St. Paul's School was founded by the great Dean Colet, who ordained that it should be free to "153 children of all nations and countries."

At Westminster School it was placed on the statutes that 40 scholars were to be educated free and freely boarded at the expense of the Dean and Chapter.

Dulwich College was founded by Edward Allyn for the "free education of poor boys."

Perhaps these notes on the charters of eleven of the most famous public schools will suffice to indicate the purpose for which they were founded and how that purpose was fulfilled; of course there are many others whose origin and development were the same.

Although as long ago as 1865 the annual revenues of only four of these schools amounted to £74,000, gratuitous education is now practically non-existent; there are indeed at all the above institutions various scholarships, that often considerably reduce the fees, which vary from £80 to £150, but they are only to be gained by those who already have the qualifications of birth, influence, and education.

Among the boys, wealth and aptness for games are of primary importance, and those "apt for study and of good morals" have to endure the "ragging," so popular, too, at the Universities. It is incredible what suffering has to be endured by those who come to school to work or who refuse to join in the immoral practices so prevalent. The weak are oppressed, and the poor are treated with such contempt that they often run into debt to escape the stigma of poverty. Sham patriotism runs riot, and the daily attendance at chapel engenders that sham religion which is seldom believed in but which proves of service in keeping in its place the working-class. The ignorance of the average public school boy is astounding, and well accounts for the mismanagement of the late South African War, and in a degree, for the decline of British industry. Literature, too, may well become degraded when the leisured classes can hardly write half-a-dozen lines in correct English.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell has denounced the working-class in a way that has even called forth remonstrances from most of the capitalist papers; no one, however, who knows anything of the "Great Public Schools" will deny that the boys, as a rule, are "lazy, unthrifty, improvident, immoral, foul-mouthed, and untruthful and sometimes drunken." "Betting and gambling" and "idle self-indulgence" are almost as prevalent in some public schools as in Park Lane.

This is the way in which the commands of the founders have been obeyed, and it is for this that the poor and needy have been so disgracefully robbed. The history of the "Great Public Schools" is symbolical of the history of the world; the good things produced by and belonging to the working-class, stolen from them and devoted to luxury and riotous waste. It is to put an end to all this that The Socialist Party has been formed, and there is only one method by which the working-class may recover its possessions from the capitalist-class, and that is—Expropriation.—SYDNEY CHASE.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms—*Free Trade*. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.—THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

In conversation with the directing officials of the Church Army, at its headquarters last Monday a representative of the "Morning Advertiser" learnt that the exceptional distress now prevailing had very greatly increased the stress of work which the organisation has normally to bear at the present season of the year. During the month of October the applicants at headquarters for help exceeded by 61 per cent. the total of those who similarly applied in the corresponding month of 1903. It is noticeable, also, the representative was told, that many of these destitute persons come from a superior class.

Socialism and Individualism.

The polemicists of reaction set themselves up as the defenders of Individualism. According to them Socialism will be the sacrifice of the individual to Society.

Is there any foundation for such statement? None.

Socialism is not an obstacle to the physical, intellectual, or moral development of man.

On the contrary, it is to-day the only social order capable of assuring the preservation of the individual.

Not only is capitalism the opponent of Individualism but it is its most redoubtable enemy.

Bourgeois society has sacrificed the living to the dead, the productive majority to the parasitical minority. It has made man a slave to the Rich. It has turned against the individual all the forces that have been forged to conquer Nature.

The individual has nothing to hope for, but everything to fear from a continuation of Capitalism.

The exploitation of man by man, of which the defenders of capitalism demand the continuance, is a powerful factor of organic degeneracy.

Denial is impossible.

Under capitalism man loses his means of action and development.

The iniquitous social system deprives him of the most primitive rights, refuses him the means of wealth production, the products of his hand and brain, condemns him to live in slavery, poverty, and ignorance.

Under this régime man weakens, deforms, and wastes.

The degeneration of the people, submissive to capitalism, is not controvertible.

It is proved—we have established it elsewhere—by a decrease in height, weight, muscular force, fertility, sight, hearing, smell, memory, etc., and by an increase of professional maladies, bodily deformities, accidents, lunatics, etc.

The cause of those evils is known, it is the exploitation of man by man.

The interest of the individual demands the abolition of social inequalities, the microbe of all degeneracy.

Socialism demands:

The integral development of man, physically, intellectually, and morally, the free growth of the individual.

Scientific Individualism—Individualism in its highest essence—is SOCIALISM.

Let us prepare its triumph.
From the French of *Désiré Descamps* by A. W. PEARSON.

He that is down needs fear no fall.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
Than fee a doctor for a nauseous draught.

DRYDEN.

This mournful truth is everywhere confessed,
Slow rises worth by poverty depressed.

DR. JOHNSON.

"Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea;"

"Why as men do a-land: the great ones eat up the little ones."—SHAKESPEARE.

The law is a sort of hocus-pocus science, that smiles in your face while it picks your pocket; and the glorious uncertainty of it is of more use to the professors than the justice of it.

MACKLIN.

I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden."

RICHARD RUMBOLD, when on the Scaffold (1685).

The Co-operative movement has to some extent lost sight of the great aim which Robert Owen had in view, which was to raise the whole of the members of the community by reorganising the forces and circumstances which governed their lives.—CO-OPERATIVE ANNUAL, 1902.

Correspondence.

(TO THE EDITORS.)

Our comrade Hawkins forwards a copy of the following letter which he has received:

"Dravil, 15.11.04.

"Dear Comrade,—I have just received No. 3 of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, containing your interview, and I am glad to find that you have given a very full and faithful account thereof.

"Trusting that the paper will be successful and with my best thanks and our kind regards to Mrs. Hawkins and yourself,

"Yours fraternally
"PAUL LAFARGUE."

12, Shelgate Road,
Clapham Junc., S.W.
14.11.04.

Dear Comrades,—Just a few lines of congratulation. I am glad to see that a straight, uncompromising Socialist party has at last entered the political field. If ever there were need of such a party it is at the present time. When one looks around and sees the so-called Socialist parties wobbling about, advising the workers to do one thing one moment and the opposite the next, it is no wonder that the workers are in a chaotic state. It is no wonder that they are apathetic. Therefore, when almost at the last moment as it seems, a straight party springs into existence, I cannot but feel that every success should meet its progress. I think that if you continue as you have begun, the workers will wake up from their apathetic mood and support you wherever you lead. I am heartily pleased with THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, and wish it every success. I, at any rate, will do my best to advertise the paper and forward the Cause.

I remain, yours fraternally,
H. T. DAVEY.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

F. M. (Hamburg).—Your note to hand. Shall be pleased to hear from you further at any time.

C. F. (Kentish Town).—Hardly suitable, but try again.

H. C. (Canning Town).—You are quite mistaken in supposing that we should not welcome the provision of adequate maintenance of all school children. Nothing which we have ever said or written could bear any such construction. What we do believe is that nothing in the shape of adequate free maintenance will be given by any section of the capitalist party, and that anything short of adequate maintenance is not worth fighting for. When we have the working-class of this country organised on a Socialist basis and as a Socialist political party, we shall deal with all these matters as part of a regular revolutionary programme, but at present we can gain nothing by soliciting reforms and favours from a class against whose material interests it would be to grant them. We shall treat of this matter fully in a subsequent issue.

A. M. (Manchester).—1. We think you will find the matter discussed at length in Giffen's "Essays on Finance." 2. Muhlall covers too short a period. We hope to be able to furnish the figures in some future issue when we have time to work them out.

J. C. T. (Birmingham).—The facts may be as stated but the source is so very unreliable that you cannot quote without some independent evidence. 2. We can afford to display indifference.

J. B. (Plymouth).—We shall consider the matter.

T. R. T. (Newhaven).—Anyone can join The Socialist Party of Great Britain by signing our Declaration of Principles as shown on page 7. We can send forms to anyone who wishes to join. It is, of course, more interesting to have a Branch in the locality to which you can belong, but failing this, you should belong to the Central organisation pending the formation of a Branch. We shall be pleased to furnish any further information either direct or through our columns.

LITERATURE AGENCY.

Branches and members should purchase their literature through the Party Agent, F. C. Watts, 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, London, W. Write for particulars as to terms, etc.

CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

The class meets weekly and is free to all. On application to J. Fitzgerald, 34, Wilmington Square, London, W.C., full particulars will be sent.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

FROM OUR BRANCHES.

Reports from Branches for insertion under this heading must be in before the 20th of each month, otherwise they cannot appear.

EDMONTON.

Another month of good work well done fitsly sums up our position here. Since our last report although three meetings had to be abandoned owing to the rain, nevertheless we have held four meetings in Waltham, four in Edmonton and three in Tottenham. These meetings have been very successful and, as a result, the Edmonton Branch is not only stronger in every way but a sound Branch will soon exist in Tottenham also.

On Sunday, November 20, we had a field-day, the meeting at West Green Rd. lasting nearly four hours, during which five critics—two from the Temperance Party, two from the S.D.F. and one from the Primrose League—had each a turn on the platform. Needless to say the criticism, which was more or less friendly and certainly courteous—in striking contrast to that which greeted us in the evening at Edmonton—was effectively answered, so much so that a resolution thanking The Socialist Party of Great Britain for the addresses delivered and pledging the meeting to work for the realisation of the object of that Party, moved and seconded by two of the audience unknown personally to any of us, was carried unanimously by the meeting. A good sale of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD and an increase of three to our membership were also pleasing features of an all-round good meeting.

In the evening at Angel Road, Edmonton, we proceeded to hold our usual meeting, but before half-an-hour had elapsed the local S.D.F. had planted their platform on the edge of our audience and commenced a series of antics that compelled almost everyone to laugh. We have entirely failed even yet to learn what was the matter with them. They put up Mr. Thomas, Mr. Pearson, and Mr. Mercer, each of whom had two trials to take the attention of the audience from our speaker but in this they absolutely failed; abandoning their platform they tried to break up our meeting by entering the audience and trying to incite a portion of it to riot. In this they failed also and eventually when close upon 10 p.m. the police, as usual, had to make us close our meeting, it fell to the lot of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Federationists to cheer the police and to exhort them to "lock the ——— up." However, the police are not yet the servants of the S.D.F. no matter how anxious one of the latter evidently is to become

the servant of the former.

Still, be those things as they may, the Edmonton Branch of The Socialist Party of Great Britain is in high spirits and full of confidence. We have no desire to bluff ourselves nor yet another body, but the steady sale of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD and the foolish tactics of those who, to suppress an opponent, would jeopardise the right of public meeting by trying to turn orderly meetings into bear-gardens, will yet, and we believe very soon, show effectually that our Party is right, that our Party is justified and alone worth of the confidence of the working-class. Speed the day!—A. ANDERSON.

FULHAM.

THE meetings we have held here have been successful from the numerical standpoint, and the sales of our paper have been fairly good considering the large number of men there are unemployed in this district. The week-night meetings that we hold at Fulham Cross at 8.30 on Wednesdays are better attended than the Sunday morning meetings and have been very successful. Once the summer comes again (as the poet sings) this branch will be placed on a firmer footing. We are getting well known now and a good number of men are beginning to understand which is The Socialist Party.

—E. J. B. ALLEN.

ISLINGTON.

With the departure of the last leaves of autumn and the arrival of hoar winter with his chilly blasts comes a falling off in the attendance at our open-air meetings. Too great are the temptations of the cheery inglenook and the fireside's genial glow. No longer do the opening buds of spring, the full-blown flowers of summer, or the many hued leaves of autumn bring the people out to the parks clad in their dainty raiment. No longer the proletariat dons his "Sunday best" to stroll through the thronged avenues—[We have cut out thirteen foolscap pages of similar matter to the above.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

So we may explain to ourselves the falling off both in the number of our meetings and in the number of the audience at those meetings. We have, however, done something in this direction and shall continue while the weather allows. We are somewhat hampered in our work by the fact that a number of our members are working in enforced overtime. It is not for us to point out the anomaly of such overtime in view of the number of people at present unemployed. Suffice it to say that it is this very unemployment which the capitalist employs as a lever to force men to work excess hours.

Fraternal greetings and a promise of rare doings from the merry village of Islington.

PERCY O'BRIEN MACFARLAIN.

PECKHAM.

I AM sorry I was too late for you last month. It was not because there was nothing doing, for, as a matter of fact, things have been very lively in Peckham. The Liberals have been holding open-air meetings which we have attended, and we have asked pertinent questions, which have been talked round. The Liberals allowed opposition, so Comrade Belsey and others put forward our position, and this was well received by the audience. I may say the Liberals were discussing the fiscal policy, and we challenged them to a debate on the subject, but this was not accepted.

We had some handbills printed and distributed at their meeting, announcing a mass meeting of The Socialist Party of Great Britain to take place at the same spot on the following Monday. We wrote Comrades Lehan, Kent, and Anderson, but owing to its turning out such a wet night they did not put in an appearance. It left off raining by the time for starting, and in spite of the weather we had a good meeting, which was adjourned till the following Monday. At the adjourned meeting Anderson turned up and met with such success that we had a third meeting, when Anderson was again the speaker. Our audience was quite as large as that of the Liberals, and Anderson, in spite of the bad weather (all three Mondays were wet), was kept until past 11 o'clock answering questions.

We are still carrying on our outdoor meetings. We had a good meeting at Peckham Rye on

Sunday (13th) morning, and we intend having one on Sunday next, weather permitting. The branch meetings are well attended, as are also our Friday night discussions. We have also made several new members and altogether are going on satisfactorily.—W. RUSSELL.

WOOD GREEN.

SINCE my last report of the Movement in Wood Green several really good and successful open-air meetings have been held, both from a standpoint of the numbers attending them, and the intelligent interest shown by numerous questions and lively discussion. Perhaps the most important of those meetings was the one held on Oct. 23rd, when there was a debate between C. Horn, of New Southgate, and comrade A. Anderson, of Edmonton.

The debate arose out of a previous meeting at which C. Horn was present, and at which the speaker, Anderson, referred very plainly to the conduct of C. Horn (who claims to be a Socialist and is a late member of the S.D.F.) in actively supporting a Liberal capitalist candidate for parliamentary honours, thus betraying the working class. Now the two men meet, the one to defend opportunism, the other for uncompromising revolutionary Socialism. It was a sight never to be forgotten to see the great mass of faces turned towards the speakers, eager to take in the whole argument, and anxious to show their appreciation of the many good points.

Comrade Anderson was never in better form, and never before have the workers heard in such plain language the principles of Socialism. This evidently told, not only upon the audience, but upon Horn himself, for his last words were "It is quite true the emancipation of the workers must be the work of the working-class themselves."

At the conclusion of the debate the meeting did not break up, but nearly the whole of the audience remained to listen to another address. The meeting commenced at 11 o'clock and closed at 2.30.

Another feature in Wood Green is that THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is going well, many people asking for the first and second numbers.

—JOHN CRUMP.

THE first care of the Italian Socialists on obtaining control of the administration of the city Reggi-Emilia has been to adopt the following series of commandments for use in the public schools, to impress the children with the ethics of citizenship and the religion of humanity:

"Love thy schoolmates, for they will be thy co-workers for life.

"Love knowledge—the bread of intellect: cherish the same gratitude toward thy teacher as toward thy father and mother.

"Make every day thou livest the occasion for some good and beneficial deed; always sow the seeds of kindness.

"Honour good men and true women; esteem all men as equals; bend thy knees to no one.

"Bear hatred to none, and insult none; the word 'revenge' shall be excluded from the vocabulary; but stand up for thy rights and resist oppression.

"Do not be a coward; stand by the weak and respect and love justice."—*Eastern Herald*.

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The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

CENTRAL OFFICE.
COMMUNIST CLUB,
107, CHARLOTTE ST., LONDON, W.
General Secretary C. LEHANE.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 8, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Sydney Hall, York Road, Battersea, S.W.

CENTRAL.—Business transacted every Saturday at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W. Membership in the Central Branch can be obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

CLERKENWELL.—Kate Hawkins, sec., 47, Wilmington Square, W.C. Branch meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday in each month at 3 p.m. at 34, Wilmington Square, W.C.

EAST LONDON (Central).—W. Woodhouse, Sec., 95, Kirby St., Poplar, E. Branch meets every Friday at the address given.

EDMONTON.—R. Kenny, Secretary, 35, Vernon Rd., Tottenham, N. Business meetings at 24, Belmont Avenue, Lower Edmonton, every Friday at 8 p.m.

FULHAM.—E. J. B. Allen, Secretary, 40, Mablethorpe Rd., Fulham Cross, S.W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.

ISLINGTON.—J. McNicol, Secretary, 179, Isledon Rd., Finsbury Park, N. Branch meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday of the month at 8.30 p.m. at the "Hope Coffee Tavern," 112, Fonthill Road, Finsbury Park, N.

PADDINGTON.—F. C. Watts, Sec., 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at Ollins' Coffee Tavern (foot of Lock Bridge), Harrow Road.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Secretary, 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at 33, High St., Peckham, S.E.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—J. Kent, secretary, 5, Rutland Road, Ilford. Branch meets 2nd and 4th Tuesdays in each month at 8.30 at secretary's address.

SOUTHWARK.—S. Eden, Secretary, 63, Penrose St., Walworth. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. at the Café, Walworth.

TOOTING.—C. Goss, Secretary, 73, Balham Grove, Balham, S.W. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at 61, Glasford Street, Tooting.

WATFORD.—D. R. Newlands, Secretary, 5, Highfield Rd., Bushey, Herts. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m., 73, Harwoods Rd., Watford. Economic Class every Sunday at 3 p.m.

WEST HAM.—G. J. Hodson, Secretary, 'Kelmscott,' Sidney Road, Forest Gate, E. Branch meets every alternate Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at the address given.

WOOD GREEN.—J. Crump, Secretary, 10, Stanley Villas, Westbury Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

BATTERSEA BRANCH.

SYDNEY HALL,

36, YORK RD.,

BATTERSEA, S.W.

A GRAND

New Year Social & Dance

WILL BE HELD AT ABOVE HALL ON

JANUARY 1st, 1905, at 5 p.m.

Short Addresses will be delivered during the Evening.

Admission Sixpence.

All are Welcome.